# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1876.

### The Week.

THE Democratic Convention met at St. Louis on Tuesday week, and, after adopting a platform on Wednesday, proceeded to ballot for a Presidential candidate. The number of votes necessary for a choice was 492, and on the second ballot Mr. Tilden had 535. The platform adopted declares the administration of the Government in need of immediate reform; pledges the party to fidelity to the Union and the Constitution as it is; insists on the separation of Church and State; denounces the frauds and corruptions of the Republican party; demands resumption and currency reform; charges the Republicans with having squandered the public resources by useless expenditures, and with having delayed resumption partly by this extravagance and partly by the Act of 1875; insists upon the repeal of the resumption clause in the Act, and upon a "judicious system of preparation [for resumption] by public economies" "intrusted to competent hands for execution"; demands reform in taxation; denounces the present tariff as a "masterpiece of injustice" which has impoverished many industries for the benefit of a few; charges the Republican party with having thrown away the public lands, and insists on their preservation for the use of actual settlers; denounces the course of the Republican party in making treaties which do not protect adopted citizens; denounces Mongolian immigration; declares in favor of permanent tenure of office in the civil service, and against the present system; sums up in a comprehensive paragraph the facts in the case of Blaine, Babcock, Belknap, Robeson, Delano, Williams, and Schenck, and insists upon a change of measures and men as a necessary means of purifying the Government.

There was a warm struggle in the Committee on Resolutions, and afterwards in the Convention, over the currency plank; the soft-money men insisting not only on a demand for the repeal of the resumption clause in the Act of 1875, but on a plank calling for the repeal of the whole Act. General Ewing, of Ohio, opened the battle by presenting a minority report, signed by eight members of the Committee on Resolutions, and tried to have the platform amended in the inflation interest, but without success. Mr. Dorsheimer, of this State, for the majority, told the Convention plainly that he wanted the issue made as between hard and soft money; and the majority report was, on a call of the States, adopted by a vote of 515 to 219.

The great anti-Tilden leader at St. Louis was "Boss" Kelly, who is reported to have lost his temper, and to have employed minatory language towards several gentlemen. To some of these he went so far as to hint, or rather say quite plainly, that their outrageous conduct in the support of Tilden made it impossible for him any longer to remain on those pleasant terms of familiar intercourse on which co-workers for a great political cause generally meet. But the unpleasantness caused by Mr. Kelly's behavior will all now blow over, as Mr. Kelly, after the nomination, declared that he would do his best for the party ticket. The victory of Tilden will, in fact, probably be a lesson to the "Boss," who had evidently been led astray by the arguments of last year's reformers, who beat him in the municipal election in the city. Last year, it will be remembered, the "Boss" supported Mr. Tilden and all his reforms, purified Tammany Hall, and drove a large number of scalawags out of it, and forced the worst part of the Democrats into a combination with the Republicans, who, amid loud cries for pure government and denunciation of the "one-man power" and "Tammany Hall" and "Bosses," actually elected their

ticket. This was all a little confusing and perplexing, and, as Mr. Kelly said at an informal meeting of his fellow-citizens called to consider the situation, it was hard for a boss who had tried to be a good boss to have such things happen. Greater men than Mr. Kelly might fairly have been staggered by such a reform victory, but that, of course, is rather a palliation than an excuse for his subsequent desertion of the paths of virtue. He ought not to have been satisfied with having tried to be a good boss; he ought to have gone on trying to be a good boss to the end. The result shows how fatal to political success is any yielding to temptation. Instead of going on and continuing to be a good "boss," Kelly began to persuade himself that the way to succeed was to do as the reformers had done-unite with all the bad men and support all the bad measures. So he went to St. Louis and assisted the soft-money men and the Canal men and the other corruptionists to defeat Tilden, but all to no purpose. Virtue is the only sure guide for "bosses" as well as for the rest of us.

We must take the liberty of warning the Democrats that Mr. Hendricks, already a heavy load to carry, may readily become heavier by making speeches. He is in some respects a ridiculous nomination, and would be werse than ridiculous if he were to have any political duties. But, such as he is, his speech at Indianapolis denunciatory of the Resumption Act is calculated to make him still more objectionable. The Convention has got itself into an absurd position over the Act. There is no use in pretending that there can be some other kind of resumption than that proposed in the Act, or that resumption can ever take place without diminishing, either suddenly or gradually, the quantity of legal-tender paper affoat; and yet this is what the Democrats are doing. Whenever the Government begins to pay its notes it begins to contract, and it can hardly begin without announcing that it will begin on a certain day, and no state of trade will ever make it possible to begin without the resolute determination to do so. A great deal of the inflationist and semi-inflationist talk on this subject points to the conclusion that a person heavily in debt, by simply living an abstemious and industrious and pure life, and keeping a close eye on the money market, may some fine morning find his notes all taken up without any action whatever on his own part.

We see that some of the shrewd managers of the Republican party have begun to advise Mr. Hayes how to draw his letter of acceptance, and one of the sage suggestions which they have made to him is that he should neither condemn nor approve the present Administration, but should, in fact, make no mention of it at all, and say as little on any topic as possible. We sincerely trust that Mr. Hayes knows better than to listen to talk of this kind. We do not, for our own part, see how he can avoid expressing his opinion about the mode in which the Government has been administered during the past seven years. If he were a man who had figured long and prominently in public life, and with whose character and opinions the country was very familiar, this would perhaps not Le necessary. People would infer his opinions about the President and the Senatorial Group from what they knew of his epinions about other things. But in Mr. Hayes's case they have not this resource. The main question with bonest men in depositing their ballots next November will be whether they are taking the proper course to get rid of the régime now prevailing in Washington. A man who does not heartily dislike and despise it, and is not determined to get rid of it, will therefore not answer their purpose as President. How Mr. Hayes stands on this point, therefore, is all-important. If Le thinks General Grant a great ruler, and Conkling and Morton and Logan and Cameron good counsellors, then we say unbesitatingly he is not the man for the place. If he thinks so, but is afraid to say it, he is not the man for the place either. The time for soft

words and delicate evasions and high-flown compliments, in short, has gone by.

The principal work of Congress during the week has been the passage of a joint resolution providing for the employment of unexpended balances and money not otherwise appropriated for the first ten days of July, in the case of failure of any of the regular appropriation bills. Four bills have now passed: the Pensions, Naval, Fortifications, and Deficiency Bills. Six, viz., the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, the Diplomatic, the Army, the Indian, the Military Academy, and the Postal Bills, are all in the hands of Conference Committees. The River and Harbor Bill has been referred by the Senate to the Committee on Appropriations, and the Sundry Civil Bill has passed the Senate with appropriations much increased. The difference between the two Houses over the Legislative Bill is, in money, about \$3,625,000-a sum which is largely made up by reductions of salaries. From the debate which took place on Saturday in the House it appears that, in the first conference which was had, the conferees on the part of the House submitted a proposition leaving the appropriations for salaries at the amounts fixed in the bill until otherwise fixed by Congress, but providing for the appointment of a joint committee to enquire into the salary question generally, with a view to a permanent settlement of it, the committee to sit during the recess, and report on the first Monday in December. This proposal was rejected by the Senate conferees, but was taken back by them to the Senate. Language fails us to characterize the action of the House on Wednesday week, when a majority consisting of 110 members passed a bill instructing the Secretary of the Treasury to coin a standard silver dollar which shall be "a legal tender in payment of all debts, publie and private," of the same weight and fineness as that in use January 1, 1861. And yet silver has fallen to 491/d. in London!

Mr. Frye, of Maine, abused his privilege on Friday in the House by charging the Mutual Insurance Company with having "subsidized" the Nation into defending the cause of the insurance companies in the matter of the Geneva award-bis proof being that an article denouncing the Congressional distribution of the money appeared in the same number of the paper with an advertisement of the Mutual Company. The utterance of such an insinuation, under the shelter of parliamentary law, by a person engaged openly in the promotion of one of the grossest and most shameless perversions of a trust ever committed by a Christian nation, need hardly excite surprise, and calls perhaps for comment, but not for an answer. That a man engaged in procuring the diversion of a large sum of money from the object for which it was solemnly adjudged and paid should suspect anybody who opposes him of being "subsidized" is not surprising. But we do not suspect Mr. Frye of being subsidized. He belongs to a class of Congressmen who have, under the corrupting influences of the last fifteen years, had their moral sensibilities so thoroughly blunted that one does not need to subsidize them into support of a job any more than one needs to bribe a duck to take to the water. They back up frauds and corruption because they have learnt, through long use and impunity, to love crooked ways and darkness without seeing the crookedness or the darkness. Were the régime under which they have enjoyed power and importance to be continued many years more, we have little doubt that we should see thieves basing a challenge to the favor on the ground that the juror pursued a lawful calling.

The refusal of Senator Morrill to take the Treasury, or, at any rate, his delay in making up his mind, seems to be leading to a good deal of confusion in the machinery of the office, as it is also leading to a good deal of apprehension as to what may be done with it by the President. The selection of "Don" Cameron as temporary Secretary is an indication how little the President has learned from the past, and how very little he appreciates the danger his party is in of passing out of power altogether in a few months.

The dismissal of Yaryan also following, as it does, so close upon the retirement of Bristow, Bluford Wilson, and Mr. New, looks very much as if the President were making up his mind for an active campaign of the good old-fashioned sort.

There has been another civil-service scandal at Washington, which illustrates with curious accuracy nearly all the defects and abuses of the present system. McDonald, the Supervisor at St. Louis, now in the penitentiary, a man of notoriously bad character, is appointed by the President, against the protests of some of the State delegation, of the United States Marshal, and of the President's most intimate friend, under unrevealed influences. McDonald then begins his frauds, and establishes some kind of secret relatior s which will not bear explanation, and have never been explained, with the President's private secretary. When he is brought to trial, therefore, the pursuit of bim, both as the President's favorite and nominee, and the crony of his secretary, looks at every stage like a "blow struck at the White House," and makes the President and Administration circles in general restive, dissatisfied, rather hostile to the Secretary of the Treasury, and eager for an acquittal; but the political situation is such that thoughts of vengeance have to be laid aside. The Secretary of the Treasury, however, guessing that trouble is in store for him, slips out of harness as soon as the nominating convention has adjourned, and his principal subordinate, Mr. Bluford Wilson, slips out with him. Other prominent ones remain, and, notably, Yaryan, a model officer, the head of the special agents, who has borne the principal part in the exposure of the whiskey frauds. An attempt had already been made "to get even with him" by the appearance of one Moore, a Treasury employé, before the House Committee to swear that a detective named Bell had told him that a lawyer named Woodward from St. Louis had told him that Yaryan and another revenue officer named Brasher had brought two distillers to his (Woodward's) office, and then and there in his presence extorted money from them for withholding an exposure of fraud, being apparently unwilling to get the money without having Woodward know all about it. Upon hearing this precious tale, Mr. Bristow dismissed Moore, but the President peremptorily ordered his restoration and subsequently his promotion. At this point, Spencer, the eminent Senator from Alabama, appears on the scene, and also Sargent, the emineut Senator from California, both of whom have grudges against Yaryan for having accused some of their henchmen in the above States of complicity in frauds on the revenue. The dismissal of the henchmen Yaryan cannot secure in any way; but as soon as Mr. Bristow is gone the Commissioner of the Revenue receives a peremptory order from the President directing Yaryan's own dismissal, which the Commissioner carries out with loud expressions of regret. Mark you, all this occurs within a week of the appearance of the civil-service reform plank in the Republican platform, and it is not the first nor the tenth thing of the kind which has occurred. Moreover, the chief actor in it is "the Old Man," as Tom Murphy affectionately calls bim, at the White House, whose administration was eulogized in the platform aforesaid.

Most of the revelations about the inner working of the civil service—the above-mentioned case not excepted—read very like one's idea of a combination of the gossip of a third-class hotel kitchen and that of a county jail. The actors accuse each other of crimes, or of telling stories about crimes; then the stories get to each other's ears, and they are confronted with each other, and give each other the lie, and threaten each other, and the favorite mode of revenge seems to be to charge somebody with baving said that the President shared the stolen money with some thief; whereupon the President "gets mad," and makes out notes of dismissal, which, on the persuasion of some "good man," he withholds for the present, owing to the critical condition of politics in Wisconsin or New Hampshire or some other remote region—all parties agreeing that the voters at this important crisis in our history ought to be kept

in the dark as to what he is up to. Then the bad men go to work again to poison the President's mind as soon as the election is over and the country has been saved from the wicked Democrats, and tell him that the chief of the Soap Bureau told a grocer named Smith, who told it to a miller named Jones, that the President never paid his washerwomen; whereupon the dismissal of the chief is ordered, the Senator from Alabama backing it up with the concurrence of the Senator from Oregon, because the chief had accused a supervisor named Brown in Alabama, who was the Senator's right-hand man, of horse stealing, but had refused to have the case examined by the district-attorney, who was the Senator's fatherin-law by his first wife, and had received his appointment from him—and so on, and so on. And yet we laugh at and pity the poor Turks!

The race rowed at Springfield on Friday was an important event in the history of athletic sports in this country, as being an attempt to introduce eight-oar boats with coxswains, and a longer course than has been hitherto customary in this country. The race, however, was so easily won by Yale that it can hardly be said to have been exciting. Fortunately, there was not any row between the two colleges, or accusations of wilful fouls, "selling-out," and other frauds which have made the Harvard and Yale races of late years seem more like a political election in a sharply-contested ward, than a trial of strength, endurance, and manliness between two institutions for the education of the youth of the country. The easy victory of Yale will probably induce the Harvard rowing-men to look more closely into the causes of their frequent defeats than they have been hitherto willing to do; and if their researches should lead to the conclusion that the root of the difficulty lay in their unwillingness to adopt the English stroke, it would not surprise anybody. The Yale boating-men have, for four or five years, been devoting themselves to learning the stroke which is in use in England,; and England is the country which has for the past forty years devoted herself most assiduously and perseveringly to the development of the art of rowing. On general principles, it is antecedently probable that all the details of the sport have been pushed to the highest perfection in England, and the notion that we have nothing to learn in these matters from them is probably a profound mistake.

The Vance Law, which was adopted by the Wisconsin Legislature as a substitute for the Potter Law, passed in the Granger interest, works so well that no complaints from the honest farmer are heard any longer. This law gives the railroad commissioner simply a right of inspection and examination, and provides for an annual report of the operations of every road in the State. The bill still retains, however, the principle of the State's right to fix the rates of transportation, and nothing will dispose of this short of a decision of the Supreme Court at Washington. The investigation into the peculations of Taylor, the old Granger governor, seems to have turned out poorly, the thefts (consisting of such acts as the abstraction of a map worth \$15 and a few rolls of postagestamps) having been too petty for political purposes. But the anti-monopoly craze is over and done with now, and it is as difficult to find a Granger in Wisconsin as Artemus Ward found it to discover a rebel among the starving population of Richmond after the capitulation of that city. Instead of denouncing Vanderbilt and the "money-kings," they go about begging to be allowed to issue bonds and to subscribe for stock again.

The Centennial Fourth of July festivities, including those on the evening of that date, appear to have done credit both to the patriotism and the sobriety of the people. There was more taste, less extravagance—in many quarters, we suspect, less noise—than commonly. Historical addresses were the order of the day as much as torchlight processions and fireworks. In Philadelphia the exercises naturally possessed the highest interest, and were as fine as the crowds in that small-large city and, above all, the intense heat would permit. In this city there was a remarkable decorative display of bunting, and it was strikingly, and we may add pleasingly,

exuberant in the foreign quarters. And, in fact, the day was nobody's festival if not the German's and the Irishman's.

The news from Turkey has, as we ventured to anticipate last week, grown more warlike. The Servian Government has finally avowed its inability or unwillingness to stem the tide, and on Thursday or Friday last Prince Milan took the field, at the head of an army said to number over 100,000 men, with over thirty guns. The Prince will be the nominal commander, but Tchernaieff, a Russian general, will probably be the real chief, and a good many other officers, both from the Austrian and Russian service, are under his orders, while supplies in money and stores have been for some time past coming freely from Russia, and probably from Croatia. The Turks have gunboats at Widin, with which they threaten to go up and bombard Belgrade, but in this case the Servians give notice they will put torpedoes in the river, and the question is raised whether the Powers will allow the stream to be used for hostile purposes in a conflict in which only one bank is involved in the fray. Plans of campaign for the Servian army have already begun to be published by the newspapers, which, we need hardly say, ought to be received with great caution. The addition of such a force as Servia can put in the field would, if it were well drilled and well handled, be fatal to the Turks in Bosnia and Herzegovina: but it ought to be observed that it contains only a very small nucleus of regular troops, that the bulk of it is composed of raw peasant militia, summoned hastily from their farms, and officered by their friends and neighbors, and that, even supposing the Turkish force to be also ill-disciplined and ill-equipped, the Turks bear these deficiencies better than any other troops in Europe. If, however, the Servians pass successfully through the first collisions, and force the Turks into anything like a retreat, we fear that we shall witness a débâcle all over the European provinces of the most horrible kind. and which will probably necessitate foreign interference as a measure of humanity. A Turkish army retiring on Constantinople, with the Christians rising behind it, would be literally a terrible spectacle, and yet it is one which the present summer is not unlikely to offer us. As we go to press, we have news that the Servians have crossed their frontier in three places, and have had as many engagements. The western force, after passing the Drina into Bosnia, encountered the Turks before Bjelina, with a result not indicated; the eastern was heavily defeated by the Turks, who pursued them to Saitshar and captured all the neighboring positions: the southeastern, under Tchernaieff, was engaged near Nissa, and captured a fortified camp. The Montenegrins are said to have entered Herzegovina in force, and evidently the ball has opened.

The conclusion to which public opinion in Europe seems to be settling down is that Russia has borne a prominent part in fomenting the late and present disturbances in Turkey; that the refusal of England to join in the late memorandum, and her accompanying naval demonstration in the Mediterranean, were not unwelcome to Germany, which accounts for the friendly and even cordial spirit with which, according to Mr. Disraeli, the refusal was received; that, however, in spite of all that has happened, Russia still counts on a break-up at Constantinople as among the probable contingencies of the year and is trying to be prepared for it, and this notion is so strongly held in England and on the Continent that Russian five per cent. bonds, which used to stand at 103, have gradually dropped down to 85. In England the uneasiness about the future has, in spite of Mr. Disraeli's pacific declarations, by no means disappeared, owing to the by no means unwarranted opinion that there is in the Cabinet a radical difference of view on questions of foreign policy, which accounts for the great cry and little wool of some of the recent performances of the Foreign Office, such as the bold beginning and lame ending of the Egyptian business, and the peaceable ending of the late naval demonstrations - Mr. Disraeli being supposed somewhat eager to have England play a more spectacular rôle in European affairs, and Lord Derby loving best a safe and comfortable adhesion to the policy of non-intervention. .

#### THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION.

THE nomination of Mr. Tilden at St. Louis surprises only those who were satisfied that the Democratic party had lost all shiewdness and capacity. Its course ever since 1860 has been marked by such a steady series of blunders that it was undoubtedly hard to believe that it would now make a display of sagacity or even common-sense; that, after having nominated Horace Greeley in 1872, it would be ready to nominate is ablest man in 1873. And yet this is what it has done, and done apparently without much difficulty. No other candidate has seemed to have any chance from the beginning, and Mr. Tilden's success has not been the result of accident, but of steady political work, such as he knows how to do and such as hardly anybody else can rival him in. He had, before the Convention met, made his nomination absolutely necessary to the party. That of anybody else would have made the contest with Hayes hopeless. The Democratic Convention has, therefore, done what conventions so rarely do-nominated for the Presidency the person plainly marked out beforehand by public opinion as the one most likely to draw to its ticket all the support a Democratic ticket can, under the most favorable circumstances, hope to get from any quarter.

What effect his nomination will have on the fortunes of the Republican candidates it is yet too early to predict. Indeed, we hardly feel competent to form an opinion of any kind on the subject until we have seen Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance, for that letter must be considered the platform on which he goes to the country. To judge him by the Cincinnati resolutions would be unfair, the more particularly as these resolutions were evidently the result of the want of positive party convictions on any leading questions of the day. Mr. Hayes, with these resolutions in his hand, is one kind of candidate; Mr. Hayes, with his own letter in his hand, may be a much stronger one. There is nothing sufficiently clear and distinct in his political career to enable us to dispense with the production of a political programme of his own. His antecedents, as we remarked a fortnight ago, give us an assurance that he will be personally pure, that his cabinet will be composed of prominent and able men, and that he will not telerate fraud or jobbery within the range of his sight or knowledge; and that "big dieners" and bosses and political adventurers will not be any longer among the influences which shape the policy of the Executive. But they do not give us the assurance that he has the force and energy and determination which the crisis calls fer. It may be that he knows what now needs to be done, and that he is the man to do it. But the Republican platform and his non ination are not of themselves sufficient to satisfy us of this. We need to hear from him personally on this subject, at d we have little doubt that until we de, large numbers of those who have hitherto voted the Republican ticket will, in view of Mr. Tilden's nomination, suspend their jadgment.

As regards Mr. Tilden himself, we have little to add to what we have heretofore said of him in these columns. If the question bcfore the country, on which the popular verdict is about to be asked, were whether slavery eight to be abolished, or whether it is possible to subdue the South by force of arms, or whether the Constitutional Amendments were the Lest mode of reconstructing the States lately in rebellion, there would be little difficulty in deciding that he is not the man for the Presidercy. But when the questions before the country are the reform of the Administration, of the currency, and of the system of taxation, as d the restoration of the supremacy of the law over all officers of the Government, there would, if he were not the nominee of the Democratic party and had not been one of its leaders since 1800, be in our minds little difficulty in deciding that he is the man for the Presidency. Of his ability to fight the prevailing forms of erruption, of his courage and determination in doing it, even when the offenders are men of his own political faith, he has given an excellent example in the governorship of New York. That he is fully master of the currency question, and is a consummate man of business, and a lawyer

of no ordinary talent, and especially of that sort of talent which shows i'self best in dealing with the knotty and intricate problems of affairs, are things well-known to all who are at all familiar with his character or career. The belief which has widely prevailed that he would, in any political place of great power or profit, be surrounded by the worst element of the Democratic party, seems to have been sufficiently refuted by the fact that this element is nowhere so strong as in his own State, and that there, nevertheless, he has not hesitated to engage in bitter warfare with it, and to incur its unrelenting hostility. Its adherence will probably never be so valuable to him again as it would have been at St. Louis, and there, nevertheless, it was arrayed against him. In short, conceding that a man may work for the Presidential nomination for himself, nothing can well be more honorable than the means by which Mr. Tilden has secured it. He has been, in the position which he fills, the resolute pursuer of the rings by which the knaves of both parties have made fortunes out of the canals; he has been the firm supporter of hard-money in the teeth of the inflationist views of a large proportion of the Democratic party; and he has sought neither favor nor accommodation from the New York faction which has brought so much discredit on the party. Finally, he has brought the party to speak out boldly, even if obscurely, in its platform in favor of specie payments and of civil-service reform, and to nominate its ablest and least objectionable candidate. These are not services to himself or to his party simply; they are services to the whole country. Whether Mr. Tilden be elected or not, we are indebted to him for having raised politics to a higher level, and for having wiped out, as far as it can be wiped out by mere utterance, the national reproach that a party containing nearly half the voters was avowedly given over to obstruction or mischief, and occupied itself solely with lamenting the irretrievable and proposing the impracticable.

As regards the platform, we feel bound to say that it seems to us greatly superior to that drawn up at Cincinnati. In fact, to us, who believe that the great curses of the politics of the day are cant and insincerity, and its great needs, bonesty and directness in speech and action, it is difficult to avoid placing the Democratic Convention, judged by its speech and action, on a higher moral plane altogether than the Republican. We say this while recognizing fully the Ligher average of character of the latter, and while acknowledging that the platform, being prepared by a small knot of men and adopted without or with but little discussion, cannot be surely taken to express even the average opinion of any convention. But it must be admitted that the small knot which prepared the platform at St. Louis had apparently more sharply defined convictions about public questions, and a deeper appreciation of the needs of the hour, than the small knot which prepared the platform at Cincinnati. We, for our part, consider the Democratic declaration in favor of civil-service reform, while as full as that of the Republicans, more creditable, as made by a party which is out of office, and which has not, like the Republican party, made one such declaration already, and then, with the means of carrying it into execution in its hands, not only falsified it, but through its leading men ridiculed it. As regards the demand in the St. Louis platform for the repeal of the Resumption Act, we think it cannot be too severely condemned, even when coupled with a promise to return to specie payments by some other process; but this demand, objectionable as it is, has nevertheless an honest ring about it compared with the deliberate evasion by the Cincinnati Convention of any mention of the Act at all, when it was known to be the object of much attack, and was put on the statute-book by the Republican party itself. Se, also, we will say frankly that, in these days of deceit and tergiversation, we think an outspoken anti-Mongolian plank, such as the Democrats have produced, is a better evidence of a generally sound moral condition than the evasive utterance by which the Republican party-with its devotion to equal rights-has sought to produce the impression, while promising nothing, that it thought Mongelian immigration injurious to the state, and would do something to step it. And, unless platforms are to be accepted as un-

meaning Lits of verbiage, to which we trust the people will never agree, we must contrast, to the heavy disadvantage of the Republicans, their endorsement of the present scandalous Administration of General Grant with the indictment of it presented by the Democrats. Whatever be the character or antecedents of the Democrats, and however unlikely they may be to do better themselves, what they say of General Grant's Administration is true, or the language which honest men ought to use; while what the Republicans say of it is false, and lays anybody who says it, however pure or respectable, open to just and grave suspicion. In short, it is not unfair to hold that any party which openly approves of that Administration is unfit at this crisis to rule the country. If the Republican candidate in his letter of acceptance reproduces the utterances of the platform on this subject, he will place reformers in a position of great difficulty; for if the Administration of General Grant be a creditable one, and the condition to which it has brought our affairs' be unobjectionable, or only slightly objectionable, most of the current talk of reform is idle or mis-

The situation may be summed up by saying, that while Mr. Tilden's official antecedents and his training and opinions on the leading questions of the day are all in his favor, and while the Democratic platform, quá platform, is a more creditable and plainspoken document than that of the Republican, the history of the Democratic party and of those with whom Mr. Tilden has acted in polities during the last fifteen years has been such that it will be difficult for the great body of Republicans, however much dissatisfied they may be with the Republican policy, platform, or candidate, to entrust the large and delicate interests which have grown up since the war to Democratic hands. There is a wide margin given under all constitutional governments, and it is particularly large under ours, for the free play of executive sympathy and executive notions of proportion, and on this account, however scrupulously Democrats might obey the law, the best portion of the Republican party still dread to see them armed with authority and discretion. Nor can it be doubted that a large and most respectable body of voters have been alienated beyond recall by the nomination of Hendricks, and will, being forced to choose, make the hard-money issue paramount to any and all considerations of administrative reform. They will say, with undeniable cogency, that the diversity of opinion about the currency which prevails in both parties and is reflected in both platforms, does not appear in the Republican nominations, while in the Democratic the second place on the ticket is conceded without opposition to the foremost advocate of dishonest money. On the other hand, the impression made on the public mind by the recent exposures of corruption and by the inability of the Republican party to deal with any of the leading problems left by the war, have produced a readiness or widespread desire for change, which will tell against the Republicans and will probably grow during the canvass. It has been somewhat quieted by the goodness of Mr. Hayes's character; but, on the other hand, it has been stimulated by the exhibition of blunted moral perceptions and of lowered standards of political integrity at the Cincinnati Convention, in the selection, as the favorite candidate, of a gentleman against whom there was strong evidence of participation in jobs, whose nomination came near being made, and whose successful opponent was picked out by an accident. Thousands of voters will say that nothing thoroughly or permanently good can come from a party in this condition, and that a complete change and clearing-out are absolutely necessary, and that, although the immediate results of Democratic success might be bad, it would lead the way eventually to a purification of which, under the ascendancy of the Republican party in its present debauched condition, we can have no hope.

In any event, the contest is sure to be close; and we may heartily congratulate the country upon the fact that both candidates are men worthy of a majority of the votes, that both platforms promise with more or less distinctness solid improvement, and that, if the righteous indignation of the country has as yet accomplished nothing

else, it has undoubtedly this time saved the electors from a choice of evils.

#### "EDUCATED MEN" IN CENTENNIAL POLITICS.

THE return of the college anniversaries has brought up once more for discussion the old and now vexed question of the value of university education as a preparation for the work of active life, and, in connection with this, the question whether the influence of the class of persons called "educated men" on public affairs is growing or declining. The despondent view of the matter was put forth last year in the Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge by ex-President Woolsey: the hopeful view has this year been produced in the same place, and on the same occasion, by Professor Diman of Brown University. The statistics may be said to favor the former rather than the latter-that is, it appears to be true that the proportion of college graduates filling official positions is now smaller than it was one hundred or fifty years ago and is falling off, and the control of our politics and legislation is passing more and more into the bands of the class known as "self-educated" or "self-made men"-that is, men who have had no formal teaching except what they have received in the common schools, or who have had no formal teaching at all, but have, by a sort of scrauabling process, secured as much information as was necessary, in conjunction with native shrewdness and pertinacity, to accumulate a fortune. In fact, the control of this class on public affairs is now so strong that, as we have seen in a recent case, the appearance of a regularly educated man on the scene as a candidate for a high place is resented as a sort of intrusion, and the whole class to which he belonged denied the jus honoris, under the contemptuous designation, to use the words of a prominent American senator, of "dam liferary fellers." The optimistic way of meeting these facts is something of this kind-that, though it is true the active participation of educated men in the administration of public affairs is doubtless much smaller than it used to be, office-holding is by no means necessary to the exercise by them of great influence in political and social life; that if they mingle treely with plain people, and avoid arrogance of demeanor or any irritating assumption of superiority they will always find, whether in the primary meeting or at the convention or the ma-s-meeting, that they are listened to with respect and attention; that their opinions have great weight, and do furnish a really potent contribution to the political thought of the day, while their character is constantly and in all the ordinary concerns of life furnishing them with the means of retaining a steady hold on the confidence of their neighbors, and, through this, of silently and imperceptibly moulding public opinion. This is a brief and rough summary of Professor Diman's position, and it also describes the position of nearly all those writers who care about the matter at all, and have enough traditional or other respect for mental culture and enough patriotic hopefulness to be anxious to make it appear that, whatever figures may say, the higher education has not, after one hundred years of national existence, lost its political virtue in the eyes of the bulk of the American people, and that the exclusion of the educated class from public office means little, or does not mean what some people take it to mean.

The defect in this view, and it is a serious one, lies in the fact that it treats educated men as a class separate from the rest of the community—a kind of sace; dotal order, whose business it is to offer sacrifices, examine omens, and utter oracles for the benefit of the community, and to which the community may give ear or not as it feels inclined; a position in short, somewhat like that of the Greek kings after they were deprived of their political power and relegated to parely religious functions. It is assumed that if educated men get a respectful hearing in the primary meeting, and now and then in the convention, and even find place for a letter or article in the newspapers at decent intervals, or are listened to decorously in the pulpit, they have no solid ground for complaint. But the truth is that educated men are not a separate order apart, and we trust they never will be. The only thing that distinguishes them from the rest of the community, as educated men, is that they

probably know more upon certain subjects, probably have their minds in a more manageable and receptive condition, and have higher standards of excellence in certain fields of activity. Their principal value for political purposes lies in the fact that they generally have in their possession or within their reach a much larger store of human experience than the common run of their neighbors; or, in other words, are much more familiar with the history and result of the thousands of experiments, both social and political, which the race has tried in various ages and countries, and are, therefore, apt to be better able to calculate the probable result of any proposed measure in their own country. In saying this, we of course leave out of view the large class of scientific specialists, soldiers, engineers, mathematicians, astronomers, with whose assistance no civilized community can dispense. We are talking simply of the great body of those, whether college graduates or not, whose youth has been passed in some process of intellectual training and in the systematic acquisition of more than one branch of knowledge, and who have got the habit of reflection on subjects not purely personal and the power of reasoning with fair accuracy.

Now, these men, though they may differ from the mass of their countrymen, do not differ greatly. The main features of their character are much the same, and so are their springs of action. They have about the same hopes and ambition. They like money and distinction just as do the rest of the world. A good office, and high pay, and power, and general respect, have as much attraction for a "dam literary feller" as for a corrupt and ignorant politician. Men get no special unction or consecration or change of heart from a college degree, or from "ripe scholarship," or "profound and varied culture," and it is not desirable that they should. What is above all things to be wished for in this and every other community, is that its educated men should enter the arena like other people to contend for the prizes for which all others are contending, and glow with the ambition by which others are stimulated. We know very well that Mr. Emerson has painted a picture of the educated man which makes him out a being entirely independent of such toys as money and distinction, and puts within himself all that is necessary to his happiness and growth; but Mr. Emerson's scholar is a philosopher, and is too rarely met with to have any importance for the purposes of the present discussion, though we have no doubt whatever that the Emersonian type of the scholar has done us harm politically, in spreading the notion, which the politicians have eagerly embraced, that the educated man's proper place. was a library in some remote village, without other connection with affairs than came from voting once a year for "the regular ticket of the party of human rights." When educated men are told that, even if they cannot have office, and must resign all share in the work of legislation and administration, they ought not to feel troubled, as their knowledge and training will be found useful at primary meetings and nominating conventions, and their presence act as a benediction as they go about in the discharge of their ordinary duties; that their proper function is preaching and living a blameless life; and that they ought to be above looking for any direct or palpable result from their sermons or example, they are asked to accept a position which it is not in human nature to accept, and which no body of men of superior intelligence has ever accepted anywhere without some special sanctification. If they did accept it, they would be an order of priests and not a body of unusually capable citizens. Few trained men have ever yet, in any age or country, felt and retained a strong interest in politics without feeling a strong desire to legislate or administer, and though it is not necessary to the maintenance of this interest that every trained man should get an office or even a chance of office, or fee himself fitted for office, it is necessary that he should see the men of his kind, with whose views and aims he sympathized, getting office, or at least know that it was within their reach if they chose to seek it. The remark of Pascal, that it is not contemplation but action that leads to self-knowledge, is as true in politics as in other fields. Men who occupy themselves with public affairs will con-

tinue to occupy themselves with them with zest and energy only so long as they see a fair chance that their views will be embodied in legislation, or that their way of doing things will be adopted in administration. Once convince them, however, that neither they nor any persons of their antecedents or opinions or views have much or any chance of submitting their ideas to the test of practice, and neither religion nor patriotism nor honor will keep them long in the political arena. The story is as old as civilization. As soon as any large and active-minded class, who claim no divine commission, are shut out from active co-operation in the public business, they become a selfish and secluded faction or coterie devoted to the advancement of their own fortunes, the pursuit of sensual pleasures, or of a feeble and soulless æsthetic culture. Preachers you cannot make them, and improving examples of conjugal and fraternal virtue they will not be content to remain.

As this year, besides being the Centennial year, is a year of widespread purification and of considerable and not unwholesome retraction, apology, and self-condemnation, we would suggest as the best, because truest and most candid, explanation of the diminished participation of educated men in public life in America the following facts, for such we take them to be: (1) The unprecedentedly rapid growth of population within fifty years, through the accretion of great masses of uneducated persons; (2) the rapid spread among these masses of the Jeffersonian democratic philosophy, with its doctrine of equality, its contempt for accumulated experience, and its strong conviction of the exceeding simplicity of the work of government; (3) the adoption of the "spoils" system in the administration, and the diffusion through it of the belief that special acquirements or training were not necessary for any office, and that one man could, if his opinions were sound, fill it as well as another; (4) the filling even of such offices as those of judges and attorney-generals and State engineers by popular election, thus making even specialists seem to derive their fitness for high places rather from a majority vote than from their education and experience; (5) the extraordinary national prosperity of the country in spite of the passage of the Government into the hands of the ignorant and untrained, creating the belief that the necessity of high intelligence for public affairs was an Old-World delusion; (6) the general success of our foreign policy, owing possibly to the exceptional committal of important negotiations to trained hands, and possibly to the high tone which our distance, strength, resources, and unattackableness have enabled us to as sume; and (7) though last, not least, to the low quality of the instruction which, down to a recent period, passed as "university education." The truth is that, through all these causes, the tradition of government by the educated has been lost, and it is a serious loss. We have for forty years being trying to govern without education, and the experiment is now, we hope, in its last stage. But we believe the best way to end it is to be perfectly frank about it, and to say not that the higher education fits a man to be a conscientious voter, or a power ful exhorter, or devoted husband, or trusty lawyer, but that it is the best possible training for nearly all offices of Government, and that in so far as anything in our machinery either of election or administration helps to keep those who have it out of public life, it is bad and ought to be removed. This is the plain truth of the case; and we earnestly urge all those who have been trying not to believe it, and been pretending that on the whole it was best for a President or Secretary of the Treasury to begin life in a small store or pass his youth in an engine-house, to make 1876 the opening of a course of absolute truthfulness and candor in all political matters, and of a habit of seeing things as they are and describing them as they see them. It is in this that political as well as moral salvation lies.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.—VII.

AMERICAN ART.

PHILADELPHIA, July 1.

THE American art-display, with all its shortcomings, is by far the best illustration that has ever been made of this country's talent in its completeness, the range being from Boston to San Francisco, in geographical

source, and, in time, from Smybert's day to our own. An art we once had, and have now pretty well lost, historical painting, is almost completely absent; Trumbull's creditable groups remain in the Capitol, and there is little or nothing of their kind in the Exhibition. But the history of our painting back to the time when it was homogeneous with that of England is represented in portraiture, and the successes that have become legendary are revived to the sight among fresher and more heavy-looking works. John Smybert's bust-portrait of Bishop Berkeley, which must have been executed about 1730, is not bad; it has much more life and blood in it than the prim waxwork likeness of West made in his American 'prentice epoch; it is a lively, speaking head, relieved with vigor against the background, and only inferior in interest to the family symposion of Berkeley and seven other persons which is so carefully preserved at New Haven as Smybert's masterpiece. The loans of works by Copley, Allston, West, Wertmuller, Vanderlyn, Neagle, Dunlap, Peale, and Sully recall, to our shame, the day when we had a whole race of portraitists perfectly capable of discriminating and portraying dignity of character; our late war gave perhaps as good a chance for this sort of effigy-making as that of Independence, but it found the proper interpreters conspicuously absent. The dowagers, the flimsy fashionables, and the truculent brigadiers which our Bakers and Huntingtons are constantly sending forth from their studios, are styleless and characterless in comparison with the heroes and heroines of most of that Revolutionary group of delineators. True, Stuart was not much more of a draughtsman than was Reynolds: West could not hit a likeness, Peale could not color, Trumbuil could not group, Sully could not give solidity, and, if we go back to Smybert, the piteous rheumatic hand he has given to the worthy Bishop of Cloyne would, if a fact, require a medicament stronger than Berkeley's favorite tarwater to mend it. But the worst of these painters was able to distinguish the fact that his age had a peculiar social tone, a certain massive self-confidence and staying-power, and to get it expressed on his canvas. Our own portraiture, spoiled by the photograph, usually expresses but the grimace of the hour.

The great Lansdowne picture of Washington by Stuart, which accidentally came over with the works of British artists, is probably the most valuable painting in the country, an art-education in itself, and a singular example of a noble chance nobly met. Stuart returned to his native country in 1793, as he declared with the special design of painting Washington, though Lawrence's sneer, quoted in the Autobiography of Leslie, would intimate that some less voluntary motive induced the brusque artist to forsake his splendid London practice. This picture is the only fulllength in existence painted by the artist from Washington, and is the source of the innumerable replicas scattered about the land by Stuart, a good specimen of which has been usually on view at the Pennsylvania Academy. The present picture divides with the Boston Athenaum's sketch the suffrages of the curious; there is a sort of appeal, a degree of human pathos about an imperfect, vignetted trial-piece with plenty of bare canvas around it, which usually takes away our sympathy captive. A hasty view will be apt to result in a vote for the Boston ébauche. But on fair examination it will be impossible to maintain that there is less felicity about the head alone, merely as a head, in this great and elaborate work, while the full figure, giving the General's proper pose and bearing at the hands of an acute character-reader, adds vastly to the value. The simplicity and the decorum, the dignity felt to be worn in a kind of sacerdotal way, not for the President's own sake but for the nation, the grave urbanity as in greeting an honored guest, all are most perfectly and definitively rendered. We feel that here, in the delineation of the spirit of the stout Hanoverian age, Reynolds and Romney and Gainsborough are defeated on their own ground; the soldiers and admirals of Reynolds are seldom quite free from seeming to strike an attitude, they have a suspicion of the vicious posturing of Kneller. Here, in Stuart, we have a true heroic simplicity and direct grace almost worthy of a Roman portrait-statue. The color, too, is chaste, reserved, and manly. There is little or none of that florid unreality, that mixture of varnish and red, which in Stuart's less happy portraits makes the complexion look, so to speak, like the melting of something waxy in a bottle. This flesh is as solid as a marble bust, while it is tingling with the circulation, and realizes in the best sense the pet epithet of Stuart's day, "juicy." The Lansdowne "Washington," it will be recollected, was painted for the Marquis at his own request, the sitting being procured through the instances of that society queen, Mrs. Bingham, whose husband settled the painter's bill. At the sale of the Lansdowne gallery of paintings it was bought by Mr. Samuel Williams, and from his collection passed to the possession of J. Delaware Lewis, Esq., who kindly sends it over to this country.

We think that, next to the Washington, more attention is attracted by Sully's sitting figure of an old lady than by any of the other old-time likenesses. It is portraiture in its sweetest refinement and most winning home-feeling. A view is suddenly opened upon some quaint parlor of 1830, and we see the stiflly-arranged bow-pot, the table, the high-backed chair, and the happy, aged occupant, whose intellect has been nourished on Cowper and Shenstone, and who never heard of Tennyson. She is a lean-faced, genteel-looking old lady, feeding her large pet hound with confectionery, and clothed in laced cap and black gown of formal cut. The look of goodness and innate refinement takes the place of intellect, and the highly polished transparency of Sully's style—like the style of Lawrence etherealized into a vapor—suits somehow capitally with the fragile elegance of the image.

Washington Allston's "Rosalie" and "Spalatro" show him respectively as a graceful painter of sentiment and a nervous sufferer from the spell of Anne Radeliffe; in both pictures his gift of colour is evident, but the design is too far from nature in both cases to teach us much; we see the scrupulous, intensely-careful, fastidious, heetic seeker; the solid repose of attainment is wanting. Stuart Newton's portrait of Irving is an interesting document. The exhibition of Copley comprises three of his works his valuable portrait of John Adams, and the expressive and labor onsly enriched ones of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Boylston. There are characteristic game-subjects by Audubon, a good deal blackened by time and a false method of color. A whole side of a room is tapestried with Catlin's sanguineous heroes, making us think of Charles Baudelaire's perfunctory frenzy of delight at the sight of the same artist's portraits of " Petit Loun" and "Graisse du dos de buille" when exhibited at Paris, "The color has something mysterious which pleases me more than I can tell. Red, the color of Blood, the color of Life, so abounds in the sombre museum that it is an intoxication !" Furness, the early-lost and acutely-missed portraitist. is shown in a selection of his works which deepens the regret at his premature removal; each likeness is a tender and penetrating bit of scalpelwork, analyzing form and character to the last limit, yet so lovingly that not the incisiveness, but the flexibility, of the touch is felt. Here, too, saddest of monuments of hope deceived, is Vanderlyn's "Ariadne," which sixty years ago was thought to include all possible beauties of what was called in that day the "female shape," While his careful model-worknot much more impressive nowadays than the wax Cleopatra - was hidden, and perhaps sanctimoniously veiled, in the gallery of a millionaire, the painter was begging a shilling to get to his home to die.

Besides the painters who are dead, there are the painters whose art is dead, or whose phases of work are changed, leaving them to watch at a resurrection of their own past activities. Not only Morse is shown as a portraitist, but Huntington, who culminated in the "Mercy's Dream" and the "Christian Martyrs"—paintings seemingly of some twilight remoteness of time, when Cole made allegorical landscapes and Greenough made allegorical Washingtons—exhibits recent work, such as "Sowing the Word!"—a sort of modern rendering of Da Vinei's "Modesty and Vanity." The sweet Guido-grace of the "Christian Martyrs" ought to have carned it the privilege of extraction from the private collection where it reposes—the same gallery that contains the "Ariadne" of poor Vanderlyn. It would then be seen how completely a respectable painter may lose the promise of his youth by success, and become a painter of opaque and pomaded portraiture.

#### M. DOUDAN.

Paris, June 16

N the correspondence of Mr. Ticknor, which has just been published, and which I have read with much interest, you will find frequent mention of the salon of the late Due de Broglie. This salon has been for a long time one of the luminous centres of French sociability. During forty years, one of its constant habitues was M. Dondan, a name which has no European reputation, and which was hardly known out of Paris till the recent publication of two huge volumes of correspondence, which have a great literary and sometimes an historical importance. I don't know whether I ought to recommend these two volumes to any but the most raffine reader. When you have eaten an English mutton-chop or a beefsteak you know that you are nourished and how you are nourished. Sometimes the French cook places before you a dish which is agreeable to all your senses, but after you have eaten it you could hardly tell what it was made of. So it is with the letters of M. Doudan: there are so many ingredients in his talent, such delicate and evanescent graces in his style, that the book evaporates in your mind like some perfume. It is next to impossible to give even an approximate idea

of this work. You cannot analyze Mme. de Sévigné, but still you can show what were the dominant passions and preoccupations of her life. M. Doudan's life itself was, so to speak, a mere reflection of other lives; his individuality was sunk in the Broglie family; he had ceased to be subjective—he had become objective.

M, de Saey has given us some de ails concerning the youth of M. Doudan. He began life as a repétiteur, a sub-tea her, in the Grammar School of the Collège Henry IV. He lived in a small room in the street "des Sqt Voies," now destroyed; among his friends of the time were Saint-Mare Girardin and M. de Sacy. "H you only knew," writes M. de Sacy, "how Little we were then preoccupied with what is called a future, a career, a fortune! The poorest among us, Doudan, surpassed us in his indifference to the lendemain. Lodged as I have said, taking his meals in the college, dressed in a blue redingote with a worn-out velvet collar, he had no sconer received his monthly salary than he bought one of the good books which appeared in that glorious and fertile epoch. Joy then beamed on his visage; for a week he would not have parted with his new book for a fortune. After a week, if anybody had the effrontery to ask for it, which happened more than once, he gave it with a readiness which surprised me.' Doudan remained to the end of his life what he was at eighteen, a bookcater, an intellectual deveurer. His literary passion grew up in the times when the great romantiques appeared. The young men who discussed in their garrets the merits of Victor Hugo, of Lamartine, of Schiller, of Goethe, of Byron, of Walter Scott, were not as practical as our modern students, who compare the merits of an English and a French race-horse.

M. Villemain, in 1826, was looking for a private tutor for the son whom Madame de Staël had borne to M. de Rocca. M. Doudan was chosen by him at the suggestion of Saint-Marc Girardin. He entered the Broglie family in the capacity of a teacher, but such were his intellectual and moral qualities that he seen became a friend, almost a member of the family. The contrast was very great for him : he had left a life of misery, a squalid room in the Latin Quarter: he found himself in one of the mest charming houses in Paris, spent the summer months at the beautiful Broglie estate, or at Coppet on the Lake of Geneva. Doudan sold his liberty not for the material advantages of such a life, but for the delicate pleasures of the society of the Duc de Broglie, his household, and his guests. It would probably have been better for him if he had remained in the "Rue des Sept Voies"; if he had entered journalism, like Sacy and Saint-Mare Girardin; if he had felt longer the spur of necessity. The house of Broglie became for him the garden of Armida. Let us do justice, however, to the old Duc de Broglie : he did not try to keep Douden down, to smother him under the delicate and lazy pleasures of an inferior position; he had some ambition for him ; he understood letter than Douden did himself that a man must not live always in abstractions but ought to touch the hard and concrete world of facts. When he himself became Minister of Public Instruction, he chose M. Doudan as what we call here his chof du cabinet, a very important post, as all the affairs of the Ministry go through the hands of this lieutenant. M. Doudan filled the same post at the Foreign Office when the Due de Broglie Lecame the head of it. The chef du cab'net of the Minister of Foreign Affairs is in constant and almost intimate relations with all the foreign ministers. The Due de Broglie had unlimited confidance in Doudan, and this confidence was well deserved. In 1833, the Dake left the Cabinet, and Doudan went away with him; the Dake offered him a post in the Council of State; but, as the Duchesse de Broglie died soon afterwards, Doudan declined the offer, and remained with the Duke in a sort of undefined position-a secretary, an adviser, a friend. He and the old Duke had become, as it were, a person with two heads; the Duke was a gentleman, and always considered that Doudan was doing him a favor by remaining with him. In the last century such associations were more common than they are in our day, and people did not attach as much importance to considerations which now are all-powerful. Dou lan was treated as a friend not only by all the Broglics, but by Guizot, by Duchâtel, by Cousin, by Remusat; he knew everybody; he became a sort of philosophical witness of politics. He had himself no ambition; he was always more fond of a Look than of a newspaper; there was semething of a dreamer in Lim; he believed in the herces of a royal more than in the heroes of constitutional government. His Lealth was delicate, and he was, to a high degree, a mal d imegicaire

Let us, therefore, imagine this highly-cultivated, sensitive, delicate man as a sort of dilectante who takes his stall every evening at the opera. His therefore is the world itself; he sees all the great comedians and the great tragedians, the kings and king-makers, the revolution-makers. His taste becomes more and more refined, but he never becomes merbid, for his innate hencesty preserves him from that dangerous corruption of the mind

which has attacked many brilliant thinkers. Even in a house like that of the Due de Broglie, which was always rather severe, worldly frivolity has its rights. Doudan is never frivolous. Let us see, fer instance, how he speaks of Lincoln at the time when he was so ill judged, not only in Europe, but in America: "One sees in Lincoln moral greatness without the aftiral of our Eastern charlatanism and all the tatters of the garde meuble and the m nus-plaisirs. One sees in him a peasant of a truly royal nature, mild, bold, generous, disinterested, ready for everything for the triumph of right, upright, modest, simple, accessible to all." On the 29th August, 1861 (observe the date), M. Deudan wrote to his friend M. Poirson: "Do you not pity these poor Americans of the North who are defeated though they fight the good cause? I understand why England should be glad of it, as the American Union is the only enemy she is afraid of. it is important for us that the principles of the Confederacy should not triumph. If Europe still had a policy, France would already have a squadron, and perhaps an army, in sight of the shores of the United States to protect those who wish to maintain the Union; but our business is now in China, Cochin-China, and Japan, where we have no business.

Would you like to have the judgment of M. Doudan on some of the most eminent writers in France? They are interesting, as his taste was really sharpened by constant reading, by his intimacy with the most brilliant minds of his time. "Do you follow Taine," he asks of a friend, "in the Revue des Deux Mandes? He has written two or three pretty pages in the last number on Leonardo da Vinci; but how red, blue, green, orange, black, nacré, opal, iris, and purple it all is! It is the shop of a dealer in colors. One might say with Mirabeau: 'What a noise of colors.'" His judgment on Renan is very amusing (letter of April 6, 1863):

"M. Renan is a great coquette in the order of the theologians and of the savants. His coquetting is mixed with impertinence, but he gives the men of his generation what they desire in everything, sugar-plums which smell of the infinite. He is like some chemists who have turned cod-liver oil into a very agreeable beverage; only the active principles of the cod-liver are gone, and the children remain as lymphatic as they were before. When I read him I sometimes get angry at the thought that he can make me take what he says for real reasoning. . Music has this superiority over the other arts and even over literature: it still says something to the soul when words expire, as it were; but on the other hand it has this inherent defect: it is perforce vague, it is half physical and moral: it wishes to be moved rather than to reflect; to be rocked in music, forward, backward, without ever advancing, and without using its will. Renan gives his readers this rocking sensution, with his dreamy style, which is soft, insinuating, which handles the difficulties without much pressing them, like small serpents. It is music, the kind of music which Plato did not admit for the education of youth. At the sound of this music we resign ourselves to be amused with everything, we support despotism while we dream of liberty; we forget to move our oars, and we are led down the insensible current of the waters, thinking agreeably of the cengetic souls who once changed the world and made it better, 'because,' says M. Renan in his insolent pride, 'there souls were narrow and did not understand the complexity of the world.'"

This is in the Lest style of M. Doudan, and will give you a fair idea of the man. You will perceive that there is not much worldly indulgence in him, though he was eminently a man of the world; in fact, he became at times extremely bitter, as one who has seen too many things. This is all he has to say on a book of Cousin's (July 18, 1853): "I wonder what possessed M. Cousin to publish a book under this title- 'Du Vrai, du Leau, du Bien '? In his place, I would have written something with this title-Du faux, du laid, du mal.' We must write for our contemporaries." The irony of M. Doudan is extremely pungent. He has short and unexpected sentences of this kind : "It is said that trout can ascend a current ; it is not so with men." His irony is often directed against himself, and then it becomes even more bitter. After Sadowa, he anticipates the great war between Germany and France; he is full of fears. "I cannot," he says, "look towards Alsace and Lorraine without great alarm." His erious and patriotic preconceptions are interrupted by this remark: "I am like the poor marmiton of whom Voltaire said: 'There was once a pastry-cook's boy who took on the air of loving his country.'

The two volumes are full of such things. M. Doudan's esprit flies on every subject, in every direction. He occasionally makes mistakes; he is never vulgar, low-minded. There remains in the old man, in the last years of his life, something fresh, noble, and chivalrous, which reminds the reader of the golden age of the beginning of the correspondence. It is only when he speaks of the Empire that Doudan is quite disconsolate. He did not, however, much enjoy the fall of the Empire; he saw the Commune, and it seemed to him that France was indeed returning to barbarism: "Our end is come; we are like poor Poland. Finis Polonia!" His last letters are very sad: "Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos." Doudan died

in 1872, and his death was hardly remarked at the time. His correspondence will be read by all the lovers of good literature, and some of his letters will be cited among the best specimens of the epistolary art.

# Correspondence.

THE GENEVA AWARD AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your comments on the matter of the Geneva award seem to be based on a misapprehension of some of the facts in the case which I trust you will allow me to correct.

It was agreed at Geneva that the British Government should pay to our Government the amount of damage done to the people of the United States by cruisers for whose acts the British Government was held responsible. It was then agreed that the measure of such damage should be the value of the property destroyed by said cruisers. The amount of this damage was decided to be fifteen and a half millions of dollars. Any addition to this sum would have been so much more than the loss caused by the acts for which Great Britain was held responsible. It was therefore agreed that the amount of war premiums should not be added to the value of the property destroyed. War premiums were not otherwise rejected. The direct losses and the war premiums together would represent not only the damage inflicted on us by the cruisers, but also the profits of the insurance companies on their war risks. Obviously, both could not have been allowed without making the damage more than it really was. It is no new doctrine in international claims that insurance companies are not lesers by a business in which their profits are greater than their losses. Such, for many years previous to the last war, if not always, has been the practice of our Government. When the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty was rejected by our Senate, some of the largest insurance companies applied to Washington for redress against Great Britain for their losses by the rebel cruisers fitted out in England. But when it was ascertained that their war premiums exceeded their war losses, the Cabinet refused to treat them as losers, and declined to present such claims. Moreover, the United States Commissioners at Geneva were specially instructed to bind their Government to no class of claims. The amount of the award was accordingly received by our Government entirely free from any condition, excepting that it should be distributed among those whom it considered equitably losers by the acts in question. It bound itself only not to keep the money; and so it stands, as it has always stood, a trust fund not merged into the Treasury. Uninsured owners of property destroyed are unquestionably losers. So also are insurance companies whose losses were larger than their profits; and they are accordingly indemnified under the existing Act of Congress

Congress is now considering who are the losers of the rest of the fund. The insurance companies whose gains were more than their losses, claim that they are losers. These who paid wer premiums claim that they are losers to the amount of such premiums, less the amount returned to them as profits from mutual insurance companies. They claim that what they paid for war premiums was a positive loss, as goods imported by American vessels, subject to that premium, could be sold for no more than similar goods imported by neutral vessels, free from such additional cost, so that they lost the difference. With them the payment of war premium was compulsory. Their goods were bought almost wholly on London credits, for which they had contracted to provide insurance against all risks, including, of course, the unexpected one of war.

These views are honestly held by the claimants for war premiums. They do not propose to assail or impugn the motives of those who hold other views. You are mistaken in asserting that General Butler originated these claims. Long before the award was made those views were held by those who suffered, and, after consultation with gentlemen whose character and motives you will not question, and whose official position during the events entitle their opinion to the highest consideration, a movement was organized to seek the requisite legislation long before General Butler had—as I believe, honestly, and, having charge of nearly all the Beston claims, I can add, disinterestedly—framed a Lill for the same purpose.

I do not encumber your columns by the proof of the facts I recite; but every point I have talled is susceptible of unquestionable proof, and I am unwilling to accept in silence your very pungent and comprehensive denunciation. We can all agree that further delay in the discharge of the trust it has assumed is discreditable to the Government, and cannot fail to provoke the severest censure both at home and abroad.

B.

BOSTON, June 20, 1876.

[We print the above letter as a curious illustration of the state of mind into which a certain part of the public has worked itself over the Geneva award. It is written by a gentleman of intelligence and good standing, who has reason to be familiar by actual expetience with the history of the Alabama claims. His "facts" have been entirely drawn from his imagination. In the first place, his whole argument rests on the assumed fact that it was "agreed" at Gereva that the British Government should pay to our Government for damage done to "the people of the United States" by the Alabama and other cruisers. No such agreement was ever made by anybody. The United States put in a claim for damages of this kind-viz., for "losses in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag," and for "the prolongation of the war, and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion"; and these claims were ruled out of the case by the arbitrators at Geneva, in an opinion delivered on the 19th of June, 1872, in which they declared that they had arrived "individually and collectively" at the conclusion that these claims did not constitute, "upon principles of international law," "good foundation for an award of compensation or computation of damages between nations." On the 25th of June, all these three classes of claims were formally withdrawn by the United States. Finally, this decision was accepted, after the award had been rendered, by the Government, through the Secretary of State, who, in a letter dated October 22, 1872, to Mr. Bancroft Davis, spoke of the corclasion of the arbitrators as "decisive of the non-admissibility of such claims." In the second place, the history of the exclusion of the war premiums given by our correspondent is totally without foundation. They were ruled out together with the "national claims" just referred to under the same rule, as having no foundation in international law, and on the same day. By what process "B." has persuaded himself that the war premiums were excluded on the ground that any addition to the sum of \$15,500,000 would have been "so much more than the less caused by the acts for which Great Britain was held responsible," we cannot imagine. Third: We are happy to say that it is a "new doctrine" in international law that "insurance companies are not lesers by a business in which their profits are greater than their losses." The business of insuring is done, as our correspondent, we should think, must know, on the understanding, enforced in every court of England and the United States, that in case of total loss the insurer shall be subrogated to the rights of the insured in any damage recovered for the destruction. The United States acted on this principle from the first, and present devery insurer's claim to the court for adjudication. What "B." means by saying that the Cabinet rejected any of these claims we do not know, for they certainly, as a matter of fact, were all presented, the Secretary of State having issued a circular, which "B." will find referred to in Mr. Bancroît Davis's report, informing claimants that all claims growing out of the acts of the cruisers would be presented to the Tribunal, leaving that body to determine on their merits. The "instructions" to the "United States Commissioners at Geneva" had nothing to do with the discribution of the fund under the award. The proposition that the United States received the money " entirely free from any condition," " executing that it should be distributed among those whom it considered equitably lesers," is entirely novel. Kobody over dreamt of maintaking such a position at Geneva, and it makes nonsense of the whole arbitration. What "B." says about the "war-premium" claims shows that he totally misunderstands the reason why they were suled out. Toe ground was that it was impossible to determine how far preminms were enhanced by the Florida, Alabama, and Signandoch, and how far by other causes. - ED. NATION.]

#### THE JUSTICE OF APPRECIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sin: It is quite plain to see that it is an act of injustice for any Governmen to change the value of money by depreciating it, but it does puzzle some of up to understand why it is not likewise an act of injustice to change

the value of money by appreciating it. But, of course, this must be clear to such political economists as the editor of the Nation, Carl Schurz, and Mr. Wells, or they would not so sincerely advocate it; and a clear explanation of the difficulty would be gratifying to certain of your subscribers.

A. J. W

MARIETTA, Onio, June 10, 1876.

It is quite true that it is as unjust for a Government to appreciate the legal tender as to depreciate it, and it is because a legal tender of irredeemable paper puts it in the power of the Government to do either of these things that Carl Schurz and Mr. Wells are anxious for a prompt return to specie payments. For, be it remembered by "A. J. W." that the chief recommendation of gold or silver as currency is, that rulers cannot change their value by increasing or diminishing the supply of them. The supply of them may increase or diminish, and their value thus be changed as the mines yield little or much, but this cause of variation acts for the most part slowly, and is independent of the will of any particular body of men. Therefore, although a change in the value of gold and silver may occur, and when it occurs rapidly is a great public calamity, it is never the result of human knavery or ignorance, as a change in the value of irredeemable paper-money always is. Those who hold it to be unjust, as we do, and as our correspondent evidently does, for a Government to appreciate or depreciate the instrument of exchange, ought, then, to do what in them lies to bring back into use that instrument of exchange which varies least in value, and over the value of which the Government has no power.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to do this without appreciating to some degree the legal tender now in use; we regret this as much as anybody, but we see no help for it. One of the shocking consequences of arbitrary legislative interference with the money of the country is, that it always produces two distinct frauds on a great scale. When irredeemable paper is first issued and made legal-tender, it enables the debtors to cheat their creditors; when it is redeemed after a long period, it enables creditors to cheat their debtors; or, if cheat be a hard word, we will substitute for it-get the better of. The Government, it is true, might redeem its notes at their present gold value-that is, retain four teen or fifteen per cent. discount in paying them, but this would none the less substitute gold for paper, or, in other words, appreciate the legal-tender. The Government would make by the swindle, but it would not help the debtor when he came to pay in gold his debts contracted in greenbacks. Nor, we confess, do we see any way of helping him. It is not possible by any legislation to settle all existing interests on an equitable basis We might authorize all debtors who settled in gold on a certain day though we do not see who would have the constitutional power to do this-to withhold a certain discount when the debt was contracted under the paper standard; but then, how are all debtors to settle on a day certain? How could any rule fix the equities of each transaction? The fact is, that getting back to specie payments is, like abandoning specie payments, a process attended with more or less suffering, inconvenience, and injustice. But the difference between the two processes is, that one lands you on firm ground, the other plunges you in a bottomless slough. The difference between the way in which an intelligent or highly civilized people and that in which a barbarous and ignorant one passes through this process, is that the one says, "This slough is horrible; the longer we stay in it, the worse we shall be off and the deeper we shall sink. Firm ground we must reach, by hook or by crook, and no toil or endeavor is too great, if only we thereby do so." The other says, "The slough is soft and warm. If we do sink in it, we sink very slowly; and when one is big and strong, one can always do as the elephants do in like circumstances-take the little and weak fellows and put them under one's feet. To reach firm ground would involve great exertion, and possibly a strain of some kind, so we will stay where we are; and wao knows but somebody will come along and haul us out some day with ropes! In the meantime, let us have a game of poker and a 'swig of whiskey.'" The simplest

solution of the difficulty presented by our correspondent would seem to be the repeal of the Legal-tender Act as to all contracts made after a certain future date. This would give everybody fair notice, and no one would then bind himself to pay in an appreciated currency obligations contracted in a depreciated currency, and those who had already contracted in paper would have the right to pay paper. But the first and plainest duty in the whole matter is that of the Government to redeem its notes. Those who think that this would cause some inconvenience must remember that the currency at one time stood at 200, and fell to 150, and so on down to 115, and nobody cried out. This uproar about getting rid of the last little fifteen per cent. of discount is therefore somewhat absurd.—Ed. Nation.]

### Notes.

DOBERT CLARKE & CO., Cincinnati, are first in the field with 'The Life, Public Services, and Select Speeches of Rutherford B. Hayes, by J. Q. Howard, which is promised immediately. Mr. Howard was lately the Washington correspondent of the Ohio State Journal. - Jos. H. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, announce that the Penn Monthly will henceforth be published by them, without change of editors or proprietors. They have also transferred to their list, from that of J. R. Osgood & Co., the works of Mrs. Leonowens, and have in preparation a new one by the same author, called 'Life and Travel in India.' J. W. Scott & Co., 146 Fulton St., the well-known dealers in stamps, have had the happy thought to photograph by the Woodbury process the proof-sheets of the odious stamps of 1765—viz., for the tax on newspapers and papers and for that on almanacs. The originals were engraved on copper and were by no means inartistic. The Woodburytype sheets of fifty can now be had in any quantity of Messrs. Scott & Co.—Prof. Karl Knortz, having compiled an 'American Shakespeare-Bibliography' for his own use, has been induced to publish it (Boston: Schoenhof & Moeller). It fills sixteen duodecimo pages, and embraces not only original works or articles on Shakspere published in this country, but also American editions of English works and even engravings. Prof. Knortz asks for corrections and additions; and since he has referred to one or two notes on Shakspere in the Nation, we may without impropriety say that our files will show a much larger number of original contributions to Shaksperian commentary, most of which are deserving of mention. We may instance the "Apology for Leontes" (II., 401), "Juliet's Runaway" (XII., 337, 381, 448; XIII., 40), "Lime in the sack" (XV., 408), "Deck of cards" (XVI., 134), "A black ouzel" (XXII., 9), -We have received the Catalogue of the Austrian Exhibit at the Centennial, and a very excellent manual it is. The text is in two parallel columns, German and English; and the catalogue proper is prefaced by a summary account of the constitution of Austria-Hungary, its population, government, industries, institutions, etc., etc. Here and there an illustration is allowed, but the advertising is mostly kept by itself at the end with-

—The slip made by our correspondent, writing from Cincinnati about the Convention, in confounding Colonel Ingersoll, who nominated Mr. Blaine, with one of his clients, which we deeply regret, has been copied, we see, by some papers in a way that may prove injurious to Colonel Ingersoll. We trust they will now copy the correction which appeared in our last week's issue, in justice both to him and to us. We wish we could more effectually make amends for any pain or annoyance it may have caused him.

— 'The Invention of Printing,' by Theo. L. De Vinne (New York: Francis Hart & Co.) is publishing in parts, and, when completed, will make a work of about 550 pages—"a collection of facts and opinions descriptive of early prints and playing-cards, the block-books of the fifteenth century, the legend of Lourens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenburg and his associates." We have received Parts L., H., and HI., and have read them with considerable care, for the subject, even if it is not new, will be always interesting. Mr. De Vinne draws largely from the standard works on material bibliography, and this was to be expected—his intention being to "present, in a compact form, the substance of modern knowledge concerning the invention of printing." Some of his statements, however, have the ring of a "popular lecture" rather than of a serious history, and, being merely irrelevant matter, might well have been omitted. Thus, on page 44, he says: "During the year 649, Amri the Saracen fed the baths of Alexandria for six months with the 500,000 books that had

been accumulating for seven centuries in its famous library of the Sera, pion." We have all read this marvellous story, how that Amrou, at the solicitation of old Philoponus, would fain have spared the library, and applied to the Caliph Omar for his consent; and that Omar answered, " If the books agree with the Koran, they are useless, and if they disagree with the Koran, they are pernicious," and so ordered their destruction. But Omar's death happened in 644, and history (while throwing doubt over the event) does not date the destruction of the books later than 642. On page 46 we read: "The first printing press brought to the New World was set up in the city of Mexico in the year 1540, eighty years before a printing-office was founded in the old colony of Massachusetts." No less an authority than Mr. J. R. Bartlett finds "strong evidence that printing was really introduced in Mexico" in 1535-(Thomas's 'History of Printing.' vol. i., page 365)-but whether in 1585 or 1540, eighty years added would bring us to a period several years anterior to the first settlement of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Mr. De Vinne refers to "the Wat Tyler revolt of 1385" [1381 ?]; he tells us that "Charlemagne could not write," and makes many bewildering statements which can have only a very remote connection with the invention of printing. The engravings-facsimiles of specimens of early printing-are well executed, and give the work a very attractive appearance.

—A new poem fifteen pages long is not readily undertaken in hot weather, but that is what the readers of Lippincott's for July have to face in Mr. Sidney Lanier's Fourth-of-July "Psalm of the West." Whoever struggles through the Swinburnian prelude, in which the sound so often outstrips the sense that the baffled mind has to return upon a verse to get its meaning, will find plainer sailing, with fewer assonances and alliterations and capital letters; and here and there, amid a mass of conceits, he will find a starm which does not require to be defended against critics ignorant of the relations between genuine poetry and the number of pieces in the modern orchestra. In this category we place the better part of the Columbus soliloquy. On the other hand, the fraternal reconciliation of North and South can never be so hollow a thing as to make either party to the civil war regard as anything but puerile Mr. Lanier's "Song from out the Air" about

#### "The Tournament under the ladies' eyes Where jousted Heart and Brain."

It is a relief to return from this labored effort to the happy prose of Mr. Robert Wilson, whose pictures of the South have already graced the pages of Lippincott's, and who now gives us his first paper on the curious peninsula lying between the Chesapeake and the ocean, which three States have divided amongst them, and which in time, Mr. Wilson thinks, may be united under one government, presumably that of Delaware. Just at present, indeed, "nowhere is the feeling of State pride stronger than among the inhabitants of the Eastern Shore, and they look upon the proposition to attach themselves to Delaware much in the same way in which New Yorkers would regard the idea of becoming Jerseymen." Everybody knows that that is not the worst thing that could happen to New Yorkers, and that sundry fluvial and riparian difficulties would speedily disappear as a consequence of such a union. In like manner, the oyster wars of the Virginia and Maryland counties on the Eastern Shore would yield to a salutary agreement, and some internal improvements, such as railoads and canals, would be greatly promoted. How this almost terra incognita looks as one approaches it from the side of the Bay; what glimpses one has of "ducks and pungies, tong-boats and dredgers, broad-mouthed creeks and rivers, and white sails gleaming against the inland horizon, far away across orchards and clover-fields"; how healthful the Eastern Shore is; how it abounds in fish, game, and all grains and fruits for the easy sustenance of life; what "quaint, old-time farm-houses and substantial ancient churches" dot the country; and how the half-maritime, half-agricultural population is being mixed with speculative immigrants from a more northern latitude-for all this we must refer the curious to Mr. Wilson's paper, with the assurance that they will be as much surprised as pleased by what he has to tell. In the "Monthly Gossip" Mr. Trollope asserts with great positiveness that the recent discovery at Rome of a bassa relievo has "satisfactorily and irrefutably decided" the question as to the proper restoration of the Apollo Belvedere. The Italians, he says, have maintained that the left hand held a bow, and so it does in this bas-relief. The sceptical Germans have wished it to hold the head of Medusa; "but what has not a German savant doubted ?" Mr. Trollope does not mention the fact that the French Pouqueville led the way to the German theory, and that it rests not on "inner consciousness" but on statuettes, seemingly copies of the Apollo, found in ancient Greece, and certainly safer guides than gems

or bas-reliefs. Moreover, whether advisedly or not, the Germans have argued that the action of the limbs of the  $\Lambda$ pollo was inconsistent with those of an archer who had let fly his shaft.

-In 1871, M. Émile Campardon published five previously unknown documents relating to Molière, which he had discovered in the judicial section of the National Archives when searching there for materials for a history of the theatres, of the boulevards, and suburban fairs of Paris Although of but slight importance in themselves, they served to complete in part the more valuable 'Recherches sur Molière' of M. End. Soulié, published eight years before. M. Campardon has since been successful in discovering eighteen more documents, which he has just made public 'Nouvelles Pièces sur Molière. Paris : Berger-Levrault & Cie, : New York: F. W. Christern. 1876, pp. vii.-191). The volume, besides the documents on Molière himself, contains others relating to various members of his company. Each one is preceded by what lawyers term a head-note, and there are also foot-notes for references and citations. The only defects of the beautifully printed volume are the thinness of the paper and the absence of an index, an omission the more incomprehensible as there was an excellent one in M. Campardon's former volume. There can be gleaned from these two little books the particulars of one of the earliest French copyright cases, resembling in certain points an American cause cellibra Wallack v. Barney Williams), best known, perhaps, as the "memory case." In 1660, apparently about July, a certain Sieur de Neuf Villenaine finding that from frequent hearing he had got by heart Molière's 'Sgana relle, ou le Cocu imaginaire,' put pen to paper, wrote it out in full, and had it published. Now, Molière himself, with a view of protecting his owninterests, had obtained from the king, on the previous May 30, letters "ac cording to him permission to have his plays printed for the space of five years," and forbidding "all publishers, printers, and others from printing. selling, or distributing the said plays upon any pretext whatever." by these royal letters, Moliere at once set to work to get his wrongs to dressed. At first the publisher, Ribou by name, laughed at him; but finally, after various legal proceedings, the text of which can be found in M. Campardon's volumes, a decree of the Council was rendered November 16, 1660, setting forth Molière's rights, forbidding any trespass upon them. and ordering the immediate surrender to him of all the twelve hundred and fifty copies which were known to have been printed of the play, or in default of any copy the payment of "the sum of xxx sols." It is characte istic of Molière that this same Ribou, who had in this case added insult to injury, became afterwards his own publisher, and that in the inventory of assets taken after the death of the poet there should be found a non, "dated November 16, 1672, and signed by Jean Ribon and Anne David his wife, for seven hundred livres, value received."

-In the past dozen years, ever since the appearance of his account of his travels in the Nile Valley with the Freiherr von Barnim, Dr. Robert Hartmann has repeatedly given to the world valuable monographs concerning the natives of Africa, from many points of view. He has now begun to work over his studies in a systematic form, and has just published Part I. of 'Die Nigritier-eine anthropologisch-ethnologische Monographie' Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey; New York: B. Westermann & Co.) This consists of 525 pages of text, grand-octavo, and of 52 plates, single and double, of which hereafter. "Nigritier" is a name invented by the author to designate the blacks of Sudan and of the adjoining belt of the continent from Zanzibar to the mouths of the Niger and the Congo, or in general the dusky inhabitants of eastern and inner Africa. In his third chapter Dr. Hartmann treats of the architectural remains of a prehistoric civilization in the region under discussion, and has some interesting pages, including liberal extracts from English works, on Karl Mauch's Zimbabye -Solomon's Ophir, as some would identify it. The fourth chapter sums up with much learning the information which the ancient writers have bequeathed us concerning the tribes and the geography of Africa; the fifth, what modern writers have imparted on the same subjects. Chapter seven discusses the agriculture, chapter nine the industries and commerce of the Africans, from the earliest times. The ninth chapter occupies nearly three-quarters of the book, and deals with the movements of population and with race and caste systems; for scientific students of ethnology this will naturally have the greatest attraction. Chapter six has a more popular interest, its subject being the pietorial representations of Africans, and of "Nigritier" in particular. The delineations both of themselves and of their congeners which the Egyptians have left us are highly praised for their accuracy, and so are those of Ethiopian artists. Dr. Hartmann does not overlook the portraits of blacks to be found in paintings by the old masters, e.g., in Paul Veronese's

"Feast of the Levite," and he is unreserved in his praise of Horace Vernet's characterizations, and regards Gérôme as a not unworthy successor. The illustrations with which recent travellers have seen fit to embellish their works are too often pronounced worthless; Capt. Burton's are set down as caricatures. This chapter is enlivened by an incidental allusion to the Turcos, who found themselves at and near Berlin "(zu Spandau, u. s. w.) 'quite otherwise than " Friend Edmond About and the rest of the chauvinistic crew" had imagined them; by passing remarks on the ethnological absurdities in the sacred paintings of Titlan, Raphael, Correggio, and other masters, in contrast with the scrupulous truthfulness of Schopin's Biblical pictures; by a "little dig" at the usual stage make-up of Othello the Moor; and by the author's account of the forcible measures he had to resort to in order to sketch the superstitious Mohammedan-a process not unlike that by which the rogues' gallery is now maintained. Of the lithographic plates we have left ourselves little room to speak, though they are the distinctive feature of the work. So large and varied a collection of African types was, we suppose, never before brought together. Most of them are from photographs, and a large number of the subjects are in a state of nature. At the end we have double plates of torsos only, both male and female, put to the severe test of comparison with the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus of Milo. On the whole, the "Nigritier" come off not badly.

-The perplexing question of the ctiology of cholera has received a recent and careful study, under peculiarly auspicious circumstances, by Professor Pettenkofer, an English translation of whose paper (printed in Berlin) we have received. As president of the German Cholera Commission, he personally investigated the outbreak among convicts in the Laufen prison in 1873, and made this detailed report. As this is the first of a series of such papers, he defers discussing the conclusions that may be drawn; but he frankly publishes what seems a complete history of a typical epidemic occurring in a community whose surroundings admitted of rigorous, intelligent scrutiny and comparison. The facts recited singularly fail, viewed positively and negatively, to sustain the views of man-to-man infection, the direct influence of the excreta, and the preponderating value of drinking-water, which modern medicine has subtantially accepted as settled. But their tenor is that infected localities, more than infected individuals, have to do with the influence and spread of the disease, although in what this peculiarity exists is not obvious. Pettenkofer is well known as teaching the influence of ground-water in cholera, but nowhere here does he appear as the advocate, but always as the careful and candid observer, examining the facts on every side, and following to its remotest trace every clue. The only barely possible factor that may not have been exhaustively discussed is the intra-mural ventilation; that of the cesspools is described. The completeness with which this study has been made erects it as a model, and the remarkable and unexpected nature of the disclosures invests the scientific aspect of the disease with new interest. It and its successors, if of the same style, will mark an epoch in cholerastudy. This report fills a hundred and four well-printed quarto pages, including many statistical tables, and there are appended eight lithographic plans. It does not appear by whom or why the translation was made.

#### WALKER ON THE WAGES QUESTION.\*

THE present work is unique in American literature, for two reasons: Among us the labor question has never assumed the importance which it has in most countries in Europe, where it sometimes seems to threaten the foundations of society itself; and the genius of our people is not favorable to the production of extended and formal treatises on subjects of immediate interest. The daily and weekly newspapers have absorbed the functions not only of the quarterly reviewer, but of the investigator and of the author. It is, therefore, very interesting to find that an American writer has produced, and an American house given to the world, the most complete and exhaustive treatise on the wages quescion with which we are acquainted. Although-we find in it serious faults, especially of omission, its tone of philosophic calmness leaves nothing to be desired, while the general correctness of its line of argument is in striking contrast to much that has been written on the subject, and especially to the similar work which in recent times has attracted most attention-that of Thornton on 'Labor.' Very much of what has hitherto been written on the subject has belonged to a discussion in which the advocates of labor were pitted against the enonmists, so that on one side we found for the most part those who did

not understand the subject, or understood it very imperfectly, and on the other side those who were fully acquainted with it. Mr. Walker shows a decided bias toward the labor side of the question, so that in their relations to him the labor advocates may be compared to a litigant who has for the first time found an advocate to present the strong points of his case, however weak that case may be as a whole. Still, it is not merely as an advocate that he writes, for we must concede to him a great deal of the impartiality of the judge. Indeed, the most striking feature of the whole treatise is its eelecticism; there is no school, seet, or party with which we can classify it. He shows to what extent the Malthusian theory of population is true, and he also shows what foundation there really is for Mr. Carey's law of the occupation of the soil-something which that gentleman never did for himself. He is a free-trader in commodities, but not in labor. He × does not attempt to prove that all economists of the English school are victims of the grossest fallacies, and have lent their talents to the support of an aristocracy in an attempt to grind down the laboring classes, nor does he deny any well-established principle of political economy.

In a work of the present kind, the duties both of author and critic are rendered embarrassing and difficult from the necessity of distinguishing between the investigation of the subject as a purely scientific problem and the attainment of conclusions for guiding legislative or social action. Until economical questions are considered and answered from a purely scientific standpoint, without respect to any considerations of policy, it is vain to hope for any decided advance in our means of judging them. If an author attempts to do this, it would be the grossest partisanship to complain that he did not come to correct conclusions on questions of policy. Is it, then, allowable to complain of a work in which there are no strikingly false assumptions, in which the arguments are mainly sound so far as they go, and which presents many new truths and considerations eminently worthy the attention both of the socialist and of the economist, but in which those social laws which would decide the question of policy in one direction are almost entirely ignored? Let us imagine a speaker addressing a crowd of people very fond of whiskey, but prevented from indulging by the "moral suasion" of their wives and children, on the physiological and medical use of alcohol. We can easily imagine him confining himself strictly within the bounds of truth and yet, by confining himself to the uses of the drug and ignoring its abuses, producing an effect on his audience which would be injurious in the highest degree. Indeed, that side of the laborer's character which Mr. Walker most strongly brings out is that which renders him most liable to be led astray by one-sided teachings.

Next to its general impartiality of commission, if we may use the expression, the feature of the present work which has most struck us is the completeness with which it ignores the interest of the laborer in everything except his wages. The main question with him is one of distribution; the wages of the laborer represent his share of the product, the rest is the share of the employer or the capitalist; and the laborer must know, or society must know for him, how to make his share as large as possible. We have looked carefully to see what the author had to say on the difficult and mooted question of the interest of the laborer in the share of the employer and the capitalist, but can find next to nothing, the few paragraphs in Chapter XIII, which bear on the subject being among the weakest in the whole work. Apparently, the author is disposed to ridicule the idea that the laborer has any interest at all, or derives any benefit whatever from that share of the product which he does not get as wages. The little attack which he here makes upon the economists is the harder to parry that we cannot make out whether he joins issue on the question of principle or on that of fact. The purely economic interest of the laborer in the profits of the capitalist rests on the hypothesis that these profits are, in great part, applied to the increase of capital, the principle claimed by the economists being that every increase of capital is equally a benefit to the community at large, laborers included, no matter who may be its owner. That share of the rich man's income, be he employe or capitalist, which he spends benefits no one but himself, but that which he saves, as long as it is invested so as to produce interest, benefits the community at large to the same extent as if the community owned it in fee-simple; and this because it is only by employing it for the benefit of the community that any interest can be gained upon it. Such is the general principle of political economy. The correlated proposition of fact which the economists tacitly assume is that a larger proportion of the income of the rich man is saved than of the laborer. Now, Mr. Walker seemingly makes a somewhat wild attack on both the principle and the fact here enunciated. We say seemingly, because he does not make it fully clear what he really is attacking, and it seems hardly credible that he should have failed to learn what ought to be regarded as the fundamental lesson of political economy-a

<sup>\*\*</sup> F') \* Worth Quastian; A Treatise on Wagas and the Wages Class By Francis A Withor ' flow York: Henry Holt & Co. 1818.

lesson the understanding of which is the first and best test of the econo-

The most definite attack which he makes upon the proposition of fact is found in the statement that "in this age of refinement and of artificial wants the impulse to spend luxuriously acquires force, after the comforts and decencies of life are once provided for, faster than the impulse to save, . . that the rich expend their revenues with a lavishness, a capriciousness, and a heedlessness which are unknown to men of smaller means." There is, perhaps, no one living with whom it would be more rash to join issue on a question of social statistics than the Superintendent of the Ninth Census, yet we must challenge his statement in so far as it traverses the doctrine of the economists. That doctrine is that a larger proportion of the income of the rich is saved and applied to the increase of capital than of the wages class, insomuch that while this class gains the largest aggregate income, much the larger proportion of the capital of the country has been saved by and is therefore owned by the few. This can be met only by showing that, on the average, the richer one gets, the smaller the proportion of his income which he saves, and the larger his ratio of expenditure to income-a proposition the mere statement of which seems to us to carry its own refutation, Professor Walker to the contrary notwithstanding. Can it seriously be maintained that the rich man rents his house, or borrows money to build it because he is not able to build it himself, oftener in proportion than the laborer does? Surely not. And yet, the house is perhaps the strongest example of the opposite view which we could take, because it is that on which the conscience of society permits the most lavish expenditure. Perhaps clothing is near the other extreme. The mechanic, with an income of six hundred dollars, goes to church in a sixty-dollar suit and to his work in a thirty-dollar one. In the same proportion, Stewart or Vanderbilt should go to church with two hundred thousand dollars' worth of clothing on, and appear daily in business suits worth twenty, thirty, or forty thousand dollars.

It is not merely the economic interest of the laborer in society which is thus ignored, but his much larger and wider interest in those features of our modern civilization to which wealth has given rise. We should be less disposed to criticise the author on this ground if he were not himself an advocate of a liberal extension of the ground of political economy, so as to include a wider interest than that felt by the celebrated ideal man of Mr. John Stuart Mill. His whole view of the relations of the laborer to society is as sombre in its general coloring as if the condition of the latter had not improved since the days of Hengist and Horsa. He is a strong advocate of sympathy for the laborer, and in this we are not disposed to differ with him, provided the sympathy does not lead to the support of the so-called labor-reformers. But he does not find it necessary to show that this sympathy is possible only in a state of society and of public opinion which are the direct results of that inequality in the distribution of the products of labor which is one of the great complaints of the sentimental reformer. It is only men who have attained a certain moral and intellectual elevation, the fruit of exemption from severe bodily labor on their own part or of intercourse with others who have been thus elevated, who have any real sympathy with "the down-trodden laborer."

No stronger example of this can be found than the fact that the most cruel enemy of unskilled labor at the present day is found in the organization known as trades-unions, which presents itself to society as one designed to elevate labor. The most important economic object of this organization is to prevent all but a fraction of the laboring class from becoming skilled mechanics, and thus to confine the larger mass to the comparatively degraded position of the unskilled laborer. Nothing in Mr. Walker's whole treatise surprises us more than his presentation of three arguments by which the advocates of trades-unions sustain this policy, with an assertion that there is enough of truth in them to entitle them to somewhat more respectful treatment than has been accorded them. The first two arguments are too inane to be either cited or refuted; the third is sufficiently near the ludicrous to offer some interest. It is, in brief, that there is no reason why "every branch of industry, even to the day-laboring class," should not protect itself in the same way, and, when all are thus restricted, "none will be at advantage or disadvantage relatively to another, but all will be at an advantage with respect to the employing class." But will the learning and acumen of our first statistician suffice to tell us what is to become of the excess of the population above the limited number which are allowed to labor at all, even as day-laborers? Unless the restrictions exclude some one, they are inoperative; and if some are excluded from each separate employment, then many must be excluded from all employment whatever. The argument of a burglar, that every one had the same right to break into his neighbor's house that he

claimed for himself, strikes us as one which it would be less embarrassing to maintain.

In making these criticisms we have no desire to depreciate the really valuable contributions to the political economy of labor which the work contains. The influence of the multitude of causes by which man is surrounded upon the character and well-being of the laborer are traced with a minuteness of detail, a philosophic breadth of comprehension, and an absence of prejudice which call for our highest commendation. Especially worthy of attention is all that the author says of the influence of social causes upon the character and efficiency of the laborer himself-an influence which economists in general have neglected. Whether the consideration of such causes belongs to political economy or to some allied and hitherto little-cultivated branch of the science of human nature, is an open question; but there can be no question that wherever we choose to classify these causes, they cannot be ignored in any complete discussion of the wages question. On the other hand, neither can we ignore the many other causes at work in our civilization which the author almost entirely neglects, though a consideration of them is absolutely necessary to enable us to draw any practical conclusions from his own reasoning. The reader must therefore be well fortified in political economy, and must frequently refer to the side of the shield which the author does not present to him, if he would form the best possible judgment on the various questions involved,

#### SANITARY DRAINAGE.\*

T is a fact now generally accepted among scientific men that disease in almost every instance is the effect of poison. In the comparatively rare cases of personal contagion, this poison consists of diseased elements directly transferred from one individual to another. In a vast majority of cases the poison is unconsciously taken in the air we breathe, the water we drink, or the food we eat. It may have come indirectly from a sick person, or it may be the decaying product of a substance previously harmless; its origin may be difficult to trace, and its action may be very subtle; it is usually gaseous or liquid, and it is almost always some form of decaying organic matter. To confine these poisons within limits where they cannot reach the human system: to convey them away in the most innocuous manner; and, finally, to destroy them before they have had an opportunity to act, is the function of sanitary engineering, which may be regarded as one of the most advanced departments of the profession, and unfortunately one to which attention has been directed only for a comparatively short time. There is no one thing in which our American civilization is more deficient than in this. The mechanical improvements which serve to cheapen manufacture, to facilitate transportation, and generally to aid commercial enterprises of all varieties, we have accepted and advanced, and nowhere has this progress been more marked than in the newer parts of our country at the West. On the other hand, the same communities which have been so alert in watching for everything which promised to increase their wealth, have shown an almost absolute indifference to the conditions requisite to ensure their health. It is only in some of the oldest sections of our country that even moderate attention is paid to sanitary engineering. It is not pretended that the most perfect drainage and ventilation would entirely relieve the race of its invalids. Hereditary constitutional weakness, imprudent habits of life, and a multitude of accidental causes would remain ; but it is safe to say that epidemics and the violent diseases which now de stroy so large a part of our population before they have attained their prime, can be almost entirely prevented, and that the average desth-rate can be reduced at least one-half. The picture of a community which allowone-half of its number to die through its mere neglect of proper sanitary precautions, is truly appalling.

No publications deserve a heartier welcome than those which aim to open the eyes of the public to this state of affairs, and which furnish, in a manner which can be understood by the popular mind, the instruction needed for its cure. Colonel Waring's work on 'The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns' is addressed, as he states in his preface, to the average citizen and householder, but in some points is especially intended for the information of town authorities. The first chapter discusses at considerable length the Sanitary Relations of Drainage, and illustrates the subject by pointed examples of the dangers of defective drainage, among which many people will be surprised to find Newport, the popular watering-place, instanced, where, despite its magnificent natural sanitary conditions, the death-rate is more than double that of the adjoining rural town, and exceeds that of

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns. By George F. Waring, ir., Consulting Engineer for Architectural and Sanitary Works 'New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876.
'Defects in House Drainage and their Remedies. By Edward S. Philbrick Civil Engineer.' Beston: A Williams & Co. 1876.

some of our largest cities. The Drainage of Houses is next considered; formerly the problem of domestic drainage consisted in little more than keeping the cellar dry and disposing of refuse matter where it would be inoffensive and would not contaminate the water-supply, and even these simple demands were often entirely neglected; but the introduction of "modern conveniences" has placed in every house all the elements of a complicated sewerage system, necessitating an abundant water-supply, good workmanship, and thorough ventilation. It is in the last respect that the ystem is most universally defective; poisonous sewer-gas is necessarily farmed in every sewer and soil-pipe, and in some way will manage to . escape. If a proper ventilating pipe be provided, extending from the soilpipe to above the roof of the house, the poisonous gas will escape through this pipe and, mixing with the free oxygen of out-door air, will become harmless; if ventilation be not provided, no system of water-traps can be trusted -they will either be drained as syphons or forced by air pressure, in either case poisoning the air of the house by direct communication with vaults or drains. The want of ventilation is usually the most glaring defect, but other details might be mentioned, among them the common pan watercloset, which a high authority (Latham) has described as a "cumbrous appliance which cannot be introduced into a house without creating a nuisance," and for which very superior substitutes can now be had at a slight merease of cost. The Drainage of Towns is next briefly considered, and the remainder of the volume devoted to practical directions for the proper drainage of houses and towns.

Three systems have been introduced for the disposal of sewage matters -the water system, which washes it away; the dry-earth system, which absorbs it; and the atmospheric system, which transports it in pneumatic tubes. The first is the one in common use in nearly all modern cities, and which, with an abundant supply of water, good construction, thorough ventilation, and a proper place of discharge, may always be expected to give good results. Here it might be wished that the author could have considered especially the case of the city of New York. Apparently, it would be hard to instance a city in which better results can be expected from the water system, or in which greater dangers can result from defective plans. The hills of Putnam and northern Westchester counties furnish an abundant supply of the finest water; sewers with a convenient fall carry the waste from the central divide of the island to the salt water on each side. while the current of either river is enough to sweep away the sewage matter before it has time to produce injurious effects; on the other hand, the same sewers which drain the finest residences near the summits drain tenement-houses crowded with the poorest population near the rivers, while the tide rises and falls in every sewer. With perfect ventilation, no harm could result from either tenement-house or tide, but without ventilation the light gases whose origin is in the tenement-house drains will seek an outlet through the highest parts of the sewers into the residences near Fifth Avenue, and the rising tide will compress the air in the closed sewers till it forces the shallow-water traps which form the only obstacle to its escape. The dry-earth system has been employed on a limited scale, especially in the private closet, with the most satisfactory results. It requires more personal attention than the water system, and its general application to a town where a sufficient water-supply can be had is not yet recommended; for private houses in the country it is without an equal. The atmospheric system, devised by Capt. Liernur, is in use at Amsterdam and other points in Holland; the matter is conveyed in pneumatic pipes to an air-tight reservoir, and from thence to a station provided with suitable machinery for its desiccation; its principles are novel and ingenious; while it cannot now be recommended for general use, it may prove the true system for cities whose peculiar situation is similar to that of the towns in the low countries of Europe.

Mr. Philbrick's pamphlet on 'Defects in House Drainage and their Remedies' was originally written for the Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health. It is an instructive pamphlet of about forty pages, and while the author has occasionally allowed himself to use an inflated style, not very appropriate to the subject, it affords more practical instruction on this subject than we have yet seen in so small a space. It covers only a limited field, but enters into many details which Col. Waring passes over rapidly, and will be found a valuable accompaniment to the latter's more extended work.

Chiushingura; or, The Loyal League. A Japanese Romance. Translated by F. V. Dickins. (New York: G, P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.)—The present volume is, we believe, the first attempt made by an American house to introduce the literature of Japan among us, although the substance of the story here narrated may be familiar to some of our readers as

corresponding to the 'Forty-seven Ronin' in Mitford's 'Tales of Old Japan.' The main theme is extremely simple and direct, but in the sideissues there is a fair diversity of character and incident. Two high noblemen or samurai, Yenya and Wakasanoske, have incurred the displeasure of the Shogun's Prime Councillor, Lord Moronawo, by their neglect to pay him the appropriate gifts. Moronawo, who has also made improper advances to the wife of Yenya, which are repelled, thereupon quarrels with both noblemen, but having been secretly bribed by Wakasanoske's chief steward, Honzo, he is appeased, and apologizes for his previous rudeness. The quarrel between Moronawo and Yenya reaches such a pitch that the latter draws his sword upon the Councillor within the palace grounds. For this offence he is sentenced to commit seppuku. His clan, so to speak, having thus lost their chieftain, become by Japanese custom Ronin, or outlaws, at least outcasts. Ohoboshi Yuranoske, chief steward of Yenya, who was absent at the time, returns only to witness the seppuku. He resolves to have revenge upon Moronawo, and forms a conspiracy with his fellow Ronin; the faithful band, after various narrow escapes from detection, succeed in surprising and slaying Moronawo in his castle; whereupon they themselves commit seppuku. The subordinate episodes of the story are the loves of Yuranoske's son, Rikiya, and Konami, the daughter of Honzo, and of Kampei, an unfortunate follower of Yenya, and Okaru, maid to the Lady Yenya. As an offset to the thirty-seven faithful Ronin are two, Kudain and his son, Sadakuro, who are false to the memory of their lord. The latter becomes a veritable highway robber and murderer, the former plays the part of spy and endeavors to betray Yuranoske's plot to Bannai, the steward of Moronawo. In general, the style is extremely plain and devoid of ornament; only here and there does the author indulge in a reflection upon human character, or borrow a simile from external nature. The story, we are informed by the translator in his Appendix, is based upon facts which took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but which the author, out of regard for the press laws, probably thought best to represent as occurring in the fourteenth. The text from which the translation is made is that of the joruri, or dramatized version of the story, made by one Chikatsu Monzayemon in the eighteenth century. Book (or chapter) eight is omitted from the text, and given separately in the Appendix. It is a metrical description of a journey made by Konami and her mother in quest of Rikiya, and is not entirely wanting in poetic spirit. The dramatic cast of the story is evident throughout, and there are several scenes whose effectiveness will not appear unless the reader imagines them acted or recited on the stage.

In estimating such a work, we have to disregard our usual criteria of literary excellence. Being the product of so remote and so peculiar a type of national life, it must be judged by its own standards. While we do not find, therefore, in the 'Chiushingura' the graces of style, the sharp individualization, or the skilful elaboration of plot that we should naturally look for in a European romance, we cannot deny it a certain merit of its own. It has a definite purpose, clearly conceived and vigorously set forth. This purpose is nothing less than the glorification of the old chiushin, or sentiment of allegiance, characteristic of the now extinct feudal system of Japan. The heroes of the book, for they were heroes in their own eyes and in the eves of those who saw them in counterfeit presentment on the stage, shrink neither from danger nor degradation nor cruelty in the prosecution of their high design. Kampei, who deserted inadvertently his master, Yenya, at the critical scene in the palace, is disgraced thereby and spurned by his late comrades. His efforts to regain their confidence and be received into the conspiracy against Moronawo are frantic, and when they fail there is nothing left to him but to commit seppuku. Okaru, his betrothed, sells herself to be a waiter-girl in a tea-shop, in the hope that the wages of her infamy may enable Kampei to purchase his restitution. Honzo immolates himself in the effort to conciliate Rikiya's parents, who consider his, Honzo's, bribery of Moronawo an act of trickery towards Yenya. And Yuranoske himself, the chief figure in the conspiracy of revenge, and a man well on in years, gives bimself up to revelry and sake, in order that Moronawo and Bannai may regard him as lost to all sense of honor and therefore harmless. It would be superfluous, of course, to pass judgment upon such a code of morals. We are concerned solely with the ethnic fact that it was the accepted code for centuries among the ruling classes of Japan, and that it is depicted for us here in most unmistakable colors. On this ground, then, if on no other, we venture to commend the 'Chiushingura' to the attention of our readers.

We must add in conclusion that the appearance of the book is no less unique than its character. It is bound in the Japanese or album shape. The covers are of Japanese leather, stamped in the usual Japanese style The English letterpress has been executed in this city, but the illustrations, thirty in number, are imported from Japan, and are printed by hand on rice-paper. They do credit to the Japanese artists.

Latin Composition: An Elementary Guide to Writing in Latin. Part I, Constructions; Part II. Exercises in Translation. By J. H. Allen and J. B. Greenough. (Boston: Ginn Brothers, 1876.)-By its scientific sequence of topics and judicious economy of treatment, this book furnishes a much more safe and quick introduction to Latin composition than is possible by the aid of most of its rivals. In the first half of the manual are statements, with clearness and systematic development, of the most essential and characteristic features of good Latinity, ample references to the editors' and Gildersleeve's grammars, copious and happily-chosen examples for practice, and a vocabulary. The second half, after a scholarly and suggestive introduction on the choice of words and phrases and the structure of the sentence, and a generous list of idiomatic equivalents, contains passages of standard English for advanced work in translation. These passages are on a great variety of subjects, in many styles-culled all the way from Shakspere to Merivale-and, though without a special vocabulary, are accompanied by skilful clues to many intrinsic and elusive differences between Latin and English. In both parts the extracts for translation are chosen with unusual appreciation of the actual needs and tastes of the student. Instead of the wearisome repetition of senseless phrases that is peculiar to many manuals, these sentences have a meaning and interest of their own, and are well adapted, in the hands of a skilful teacher-fallere sollers-to lead on to a goodly knowledge of ancient history and manners.

The vocabulary is the least successful part of the book, and in a subsequent edition should be thoroughly revised. Its faults, however, are mainly those of omission. Why should those who use the book be sent to the grammar for numerals more than for say pronouns? Why, too, are the editors so chary of giving assistance in regard to the quantities of Latin words? They are, we believe, in favor of the "Roman" method of pronunciation, and here, by marking the length of all vowels, was an opportunity of greatly facilitating the quantitative feature of that method. But even they who care only for wrongly-placed accent have but niggardly help for the length of penultimate vowels. "To kill" is occido, but "to murder" is occido; "the coast" is (gen.) litoris, "the shore," litoris, etc. Equally meagre and incongruous is the information in regard to declension, gender, and quantity of final vowels-as under "Disgrace" and "Shame"; "Camp" and "Headquarters"; "Poetry" and "Reach." The use of the diæresis seems altogether capricious, as coörior, coopertus. Nor is the orthography uniform. We find, e. g., adgredior and aggredior; litterae and literae; scaena and scena. We are aware that the spelling of some of these words is still sub judice, but, unless the learner's attention is properly called to such authorized divergences, is it not better to keep before him a uniform model?

It seems to us that the editors might have enhanced the value of their book if they had paid more attention to synonyms. Certainly, one who treats of Latin synonyms treads on slippery ground, and the only safe way of learning the subtle differences between words is by a careful study of them with their context; but the limited extent to which the American boy usually carries his Latin, the valuable discipline that results from detecting and reproducing delicate gradations of meaning, and the fact that manuals devoted exclusively to synonyms are insufferably dull to the average student, suggest that a measured treatment of the subject would be most expedient in a work on Latin composition.

A Practical Treatise on Roads, Streets, and Pavements. By Q. A. Gillmore, A.M., Lieut.-Col. U. S. Engineers, Bvt. Maj.-General, etc. (New

York: D. Van Nostrand. 1876.)-The volume which General Gillmore has lately given to the public is a manual of road-building, and in scope, at least, it is quite exhaustive. Beginning with directions to be followed in selecting the routes for country roads, it treats of the proper execution of the earth-work, the means of securing suitable drainage, the different varieties of road-coverings, and the proper systems of maintenance. Leaving the country for the city, it exchanges the road for the street, dwells at considerable length on street-pavements, and devotes a limited space to sidewalks and to street-railways. The long chapter on street-pavements is the one which will generally be read with most interest. A considerable part of this chapter is substantially a reproduction of an article by the General which was published in the New York papers some months ago. For the foundation of a city pavement he considers concrete decidedly superior to the loose sand in common use-a preference for which no better reason need be given than the endurance which the Guidet pavement in Broadway has shown. For a covering in streets of heavy traffic, nothing has yet been found so good as rectangular stone blocks; but for streets of lighter traffic, where the gradients do not exceed one in fifty, he would prefer an asphalt covering, either of natural bituminous limestone from the Jurassic region, or prepared artificially by mixing good asphalticement with calcareous earth, the pavement by the Worth Monument in Fifth Avenue-whose only defect seems to be its foundation-being a good example of such an artificial preparation. Of the various patented mixtures of coal-tar and sand he speaks with justly-deserved contempt. For sidewalks he thinks there is nothing better than the North River flagging stone With reference to its durability, cheapness, and cleanliness he is probably correct, but any one who will examine the temperature of sidewalks on a hot summer day will find a very material difference between the heat of a stone flagging and a brick walk-the porous bricks keeping themselves cool on the same principle on which the East Indian vases of porous ware cool their contents. Those of us who believe the feet of men entitled to as much consideration as the feet of horses think that many sore feet would be saved in summer by the common introduction of cool brick sidewalks. While on this subject, we should like to call attention to a lecture on street-pavements read by Mr. Robert Moore, C.E., of St. Louis, before the University Club of that city, and subsequently printed in the Republican of March 5. Though especially intended for the city in which it was prepared, it contains, in a condensed and readable form, so much valuable information that we wish it could be issued in some shape in which it could be more widely circulated.

Poetry for Home and School. Selected and arranged by Anna C. Brackett and Ida M. Eliot. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)-This collection, which in some ways recalls Mr. Palgrave's admirable 'Golden Treasury,' differs from it in embracing the poems of living writers, and in being arranged to meet the progressive requirements of the growing child whether at home or at school. This is an excellent idea, and it has in the main been carried out with intelligence and discrimination. By far the most difficult part of the compilers' task lay in the first fifty pages-the poems adapted to the youngest minds above the nursery. Here, with rare exceptions, the great poets and even the best of the minor poets afford little aid, and there is, contrary to what would be the case in the sister art of music, a perhaps inevitable falling-off in quality. We doubt, however, if the possibilities of the English anthology have been exhausted in this attempt, and we are certain that some of the pieces admitted are out of place. Especially do we have in mind the kind of pseudo children's-poetry, the companion product of pseudo children's-prose, of which the smartness is meant not at all for the children, but for their elders who read it to them, With this reservation we can but think the compilation before us worthy of very extended use; parents as well as children may sharpen their poetic

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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1876.

### The Week.

THE country was shocked on Thursday by the news of a terrible disaster which had overtaken a portion of the forces engaged in punishing the wild Sioux. In an attack, on the 25th of June, made by General Custer on a vast Indian village along the left bank of the Little Big Horn River, Montana Territory, he himself and his entire command, consisting of five companies of cavalry, were overwhelmed and destroyed. Major Reno, who, acting under his instructions, had crossed the stream some three miles higher up with three companies, barely escaped sharing the same fate. Recrossing with difficulty, and entrenching himself as well as he was able on a height commanded by the savages, he, together with four other companies which had joined him, barely succeeded in maintaining himself against incessant attacks, lasting from two o'clock on the 25th to six o'clock of the following day. The Indians withdrew on the approach of Colonel Gibbon's command. General Terry, who accompanied the latter, estimates the number of killed at 250, the number of wounded at 51; the losses of the Indians must, as General Sheridan has remarked, have been at least as great. Besides General Custer, his brother and nephew and a large number of gallant officers, whose places will not readily be filled, were slain at one or other of the two points of attack.

The question of the responsibility for the great calamity has been freely discussed since the first news of it arrived. Custer's operations were part of a combined movement under Gen. Terry, and it does not appear that the total force was inadequate to the object in view, so that it seems unnecessary to allege as even the remote cause of the defeat the pennywise policy of Congress in reducing the regular army below the point of efficiency. On the other hand, it appears certain that if Custer's advance had been delayed till it was possible to act in concert with Col. Gibbon, who was ascending the Little Big Horn to fall upon Sitting Bull and his warriors in the rear, the Sioux would have been either beaten or broken up. That Custer was too hot in following up the trail may be granted, as well as too precipitate in ordering an attack against odds which the trail enabled him to estimate closely, in a country not favoring a simple, powerful dash of cavalry, but broken and cut up by difficult ravines, in which the Sioux had concealed themselves, and from which they poured a merciless fire upon the devoted band. Gen. Custer made an ineffectual attempt to cross the river and attack the lodges, and on returning to the right bank found himself surrounded. Though he had had much experience of Indian fighting ever since the close of the war, it will hardly be thought disgraceful that he allowed himself to be entrapped. His personal bravery was very exceptional, and his successes, especially in the last year of the war, when he was our model executive cavalry officer, were so great and so uniform, that to dare and to do naturally came to seem to him all one. For fifteen years he had freely exposed his life in the service of his country against her foes, both white and red, while protesting in season and out of season against the nondescript policy of the Government towards the Indians.

Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance will be, and is, generally accepted as satisfactory. His language with regard to civil-service reform and the currency is certainly as strong and frank as any one could desire. His rebuke to the policy known as "Grantism," though only implied, is sufficiently apparent in his observations on the civil service, and in his emphatic promise not to be a candidate for a

in no very amiable mood. The only portion of his letter which seems to us unsatisfactory is his treatment of the Southern question. His language here is too vague to be reassuring. The Southern people have a right to know, either expressly or impliedly, what he thinks of the policy pursued by the Federal Government in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, because this policy was pursued ostensibly for the promotion of that "hearty recognition of the rights of all " to which Mr. Hayes justly attaches so much importance. This, indeed, is what Scott, and Parker, and Moses, and Kellogg, and Casey, and Packard, and Durell have always said they were after. If Mr. Hayes has the strength and courage, however, to live up to those parts of his letter which are explicit, we think he may be safely trusted as to the part which is obscure, and, from all we hear and can learn, we think he may be relied on to do what he says, though we do not in saying this conceal from ourselves the possibility that he underestimates the difficulty of his task. Still, the circumstances are such that we must trust somebody, and we are forced to the couclusion that he is more likely, taking all things into account, to meet the crisis in the way reformers wish to see it met than Mr. Tiiden. We have little doubt that his bold utterances with regard to civil-service reform will alienate from him secretly a considerable body of the regular politicians, and indeed we see already, in the election of the notorious "Zach." Chandler as Chairman of the National Committee, a sign, which will influence thousands, that the "managers of the party" have not yet wholly learned the error of their ways, and probably still hope to make the platform once more a mockery and the President a corrupt tool. We fear this disregard of public opinion, even in such small matters as this, will swell the number of those who think that, let the Democrats be what they may, the first step in reform is to kick the Republicans out, bag and baggage. As regards the political chances, the adhesion of such men as Judge Stallo of Cincinnati to Tilden will undoubtedly, by its influence on the Germans, endanger Mr. Hayes's chances in Ohio, and Mr. Koerner will carry thousands with him in the same direction in Illinois, and the contest will most probably turn on New York, which is the same as saying that it will be very close. But against these defections has to be set the hearty support of Mr. Schurz, which Hayes will have.

Judge Hoar and Mr. John M. Forbes, of the Massachusetts delegation at Cincinnati, have been giving some account of their mission at a ratification meeting in Boston, in speeches which brought out strongly the fact that the idea of civil-service reform is at last taking hold of the minds of leading Republicans who have been hitherto mainly occupied with Reconstruction, but now acknowledge that the mode of appointing and managing Government employés is the foremost question of the day. Judge Hoar declared that the election of Hayes was to "establish" a reform in administration which should in the first place "resist and discontinue the usurpation of the Senate of the United States in attempting to deprive the President of his civil power in the appointment of executive officers"; but how the election of Haves and Wheeler would effect this reform he did not explain. Mr. Forbes dwelt strongly on a point to which we drew attention three weeks ago, and which cannot be dwelt on too often, and that is the curious way in which the public has forgotten that before Jackson's time the Government was administered in the American way on business principles, and that Jackson's introduction of the "spoils" system astounded and shocked the better portion of the community. He recalled, too, most aptly, to the recollection of the Boston "practical men," who think civil-service reform a sentimental thing, that when, in 1848, it was proposed, at a small local meeting of young Whigs in Boston, that the Whigs should adopt the second term, which will probably infuriate the President, already Wilmot Proviso, it was received with a huge laugh, and the

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